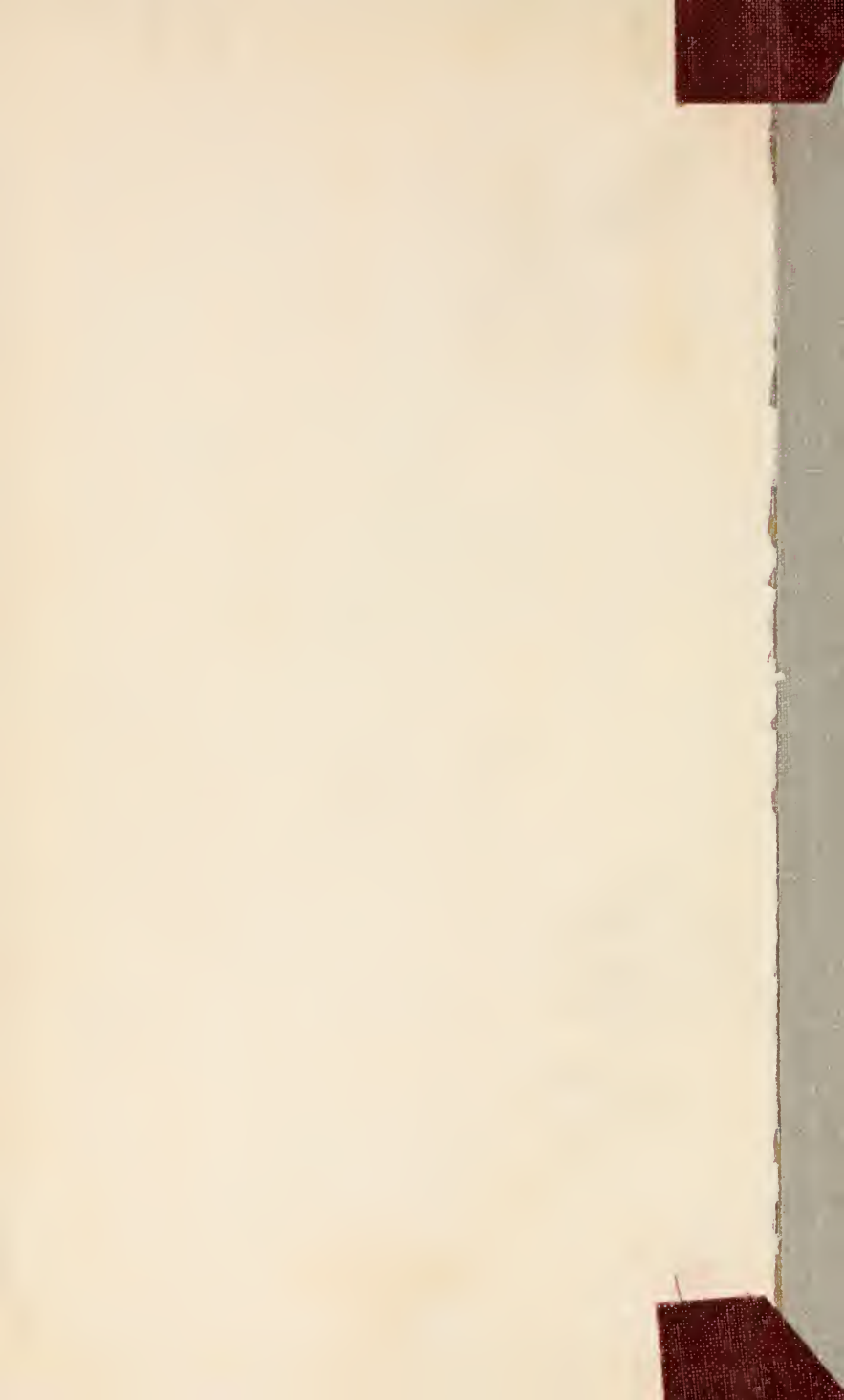


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# EXTRACTS

FROM THE

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

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Vol. 1

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1839.



## ART. I. THE CASE OF THE INDIANS OF UPPER CANADA.

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In the year 1836 the then Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, Sir Francis Bond Head formed a project of removing the Indians of that province from their homes, notwithstanding a decided objection on the part of the Indians themselves ; and remonstrances against it have since been made by many British subjects, in England and in Canada, well acquainted with all the circumstances and bearings of the case.

It is further shown in documents printed by order of the House of Commons in 1834, that a wise and paternal system pursued by His Excellency Sir John Colborne and others during many years, for the settlement and civilization of the Indians of Upper Canada, was, so far as it was acted on, abundantly successful ; in proof whereof, may be adduced the following testimonies recorded by disinterested witnesses, especially bound to know the truth of the facts in question.

Major General Darling, sent by His Excellency the Earl of Dalhousie in the year 1828, to inquire into the state of the Indians in Upper Canada, declares, that certain Methodist Missionaries from the United States, had then undoubtedly done some good by influencing the Mississaguas Indians to embrace Christianity, and had inculcated the first principles of civilization, which showed itself in the desire recently expressed to be collected as a village, and have lands allotted them for cultivation. The same report is equally strong respecting the improvement of the Mississaguas of the river Credit, though "lately notorious for drunkenness and debauchery," but reclaimed to "Christianity and civilization" under an experiment promoted by His Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland ; and of the Mohawks on the Ouse, or Grand River. That report contains "a statement compiled with great attention," showing that they then possessed 416 dwelling houses ; 6872 acres of land in cultivation ; 738 horses ; 869 Cows ; 613 oxen ; 192 sheep, and 1630 swine ; and Major General Darling submitted in conclusion, whether it was not worthy the liberality of the British Government, to encourage the disposition thus shown generally among the resident Indians of Upper Canada, to shake off the rude habits of savage life, and to embrace Christianity and civilization. (*House of Commons papers*, 1834. No. 617, p. 27, 28, 29.)

In the following year, 1829, His Excellency Sir James Kempt, expressed a strong opinion in favour of the practice of "settling" the Indian within the limits of Upper Canada ; and stated that, "considerable progress was then making in the education of the Indian children there ;" recommending their settlement in villages,

with a proper provision for their religious improvement ; for their education and instruction in husbandry ; with suitable aid in building their houses and otherwise, (*ib. p. 40, 41.*) a system sanctioned formally by the Lords Commissioner of the Treasury ; and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. (*Ib. p. 59.*)

This good system was pursued with advantage during several years ; and among others who approved of it after such experience, His Excellency Sir John Colborne declared, as appears in the said papers, that if the measures thus adopted were persevered in, the Indians of Upper Canada would be civilized and become good agriculturists. (*Ib. p. 130.*)

It appears by another document, printed by order of the House of Commons in the present session, that certain of the said Indians had improved lands and farms down to the year 1837. (*House of Commons Papers for 1839, No. 3, iii. p. 202.*)

In August, also, last year, 1838, there was published in a Newspaper of Upper Canada, by a Missionary, in his own name, an account of the progress made in agriculture by certain lately converted and newly settled Indians, of the River St. Clair, in that province ; to the effect ; that, a very few families had cleared 140 acres of heavily wooded land ; and split the rails and erected the fences, with little assistance ; that they had raised Indian corn and potatoes for their families, although the season had been adverse, and the disturbances had interrupted their labours ; that they were accumulating various stocks, and paying the debts they owed at coming to the settlement : and in the same newspaper, published in 1838, in Upper Canada, it is declared on equally good authority, that in the tribe of Indians so settled, civilized and converted, the number of deaths from drunkenness and other calamities, chiefly incident to their uncivilized condition, were 47 in the four years previous to their change of life ; and only three in the same period since that change took place. (*The Christian Guardian, 9 May, 1838.*)

In the year 1836, Sir Francis Bond Head, stopped the system of Sir John Colborne ; and substituted for it his project for removing the Indians from Upper Canada, to certain islands in the North Western lakes, unfit for cultivation, as he states in his dispatch on the subject ; “ or elsewhere to the west ; ” which are his words, and he justified this project upon the following allegations which may be clearly seen to be founded on an incorrect and partial view of facts.

“ I feel,” he says, “ that before the subject of the Indians in Upper Canada can be fairly considered, it is necessary to refute the idea which so generally exists in England, about the success which has attended the Christianizing and civilizing of the Indians, whereas, I firmly believe, every person of sound mind in this country, (Upper Canada) who is disinterested in their conversion, and who is acquainted with the Indian character, will agree,

“ 1st. That the attempt to make farmers of the red men, has been, generally speaking, a complete failure.

“2nd. That congregating them for the purpose of civilization, has implanted more vices than it has eradicated, and consequently.

“3rd. That the greatest kindness we can perform towards this intelligent, simple minded people, is to remove and fortify them as much as possible from any communication with the whites.” (*Despatch of Sir Francis Bond Head to Lord Glenelg dated 20th day of November, 1836, and printed with a message to the legislature of Upper Canada, of the 29th of January, 1838.*)

In the same year, 1836, Sir Francis Bond Head, as Governor of Upper Canada, obtained a large block of rich land at a low price, from a small majority of the Indians at the Moravian settlements on the river Thames, in the absence of the Missionaries, who had long been their teachers and protectors, in consequence of which two thirds of their number emigrated in the year 1838, to the United States.

Under a system of insecurity in the possession of their lands, to which they are exposed, by the adoption of such measures as those last referred to, the Indians are deterred from making a steady progress in civilization, and in some cases are driven to quit the British territory.

It will be learned with the greatest concern, that Lord Glenelg adopted extensively, these erroneous views of Sir Francis Bond Head; and especially sanctioned his project of removing the Indians from communication with the whites, instead of enjoining measures to render that communication harmless and mutually beneficial, as may be accomplished.

It may be submitted too with full confidence that the removal of the Indians is essentially opposed to the treaties which guaranteed to them the undisturbed enjoyment of the soil and the faithful protection of Great Britain; and it is easy to prove the fallacy of the arguments adduced in support of this project.

Besides the foregoing cases, other examples of the considerable advancement of Indians in civilization are well authenticated, numerous, and of antient and modern date; and their generally slow improvement, and the frequent failure of former efforts in their favour have arisen, not from their incapacity, but, from our unjust laws, such for example as disable them from legal defence in the courts; and from our ill devised and negligent administration of their affairs, as for example, in regard to the security of their lands and in the mode of paying their annuities, from the absence of the motives which a participation in the rights of their more civilized neighbours would have afforded, not from their indisposition to accept those rights, or from a determination to adhere unreasonably to their own usages.

There are indeed reasonable grounds to hope for complete success in the application of well-considered plans for the protection and civilization of the Indians, but such plans cannot be effectually adopted without the intervention of the British Parliament, whose authority alone can overcome the obstacles to the well being of this oppressed race, which has the strongest claims on our justice and protection founded on their long and faithful services to Great Britain. Upon this case petitions to the Queen and to Parliament

are under consideration to the effect, that measures may be forthwith adopted in order to suspend or duly to limit the further dispossession or removal of the Indians ;

That they may be admitted to the fullest participation in all the privileges enjoyed by British subjects, and that in an especial manner all the obstacles to their giving evidence in courts of law, and filling places of trust and profit, may be entirely removed ;

That the treaties relating to their boundaries and to the payment of their annuities for past concessions and services, may be carefully examined, registered, and duly acted upon ; and

That the mode of making payments and presents to them, may be reformed, and that increased means may be employed to promote the encouragement of the arts, and the diffusion of education amongst them.

The effectual performance of these conditions is not less calculated to promote the stability and prosperity of the British possessions in North America, than it is required to clear and vindicate our national honour ; and it is very desirable that the friends of the Indians should make prompt and urgent petitions that such measures, as may be deemed meet by the Queen and Parliament may be taken for doing complete justice to the said Indians of Upper Canada.

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## Art. II.—DESCRIPTION OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY MRS. GRANT, OF LAGGAN,

*Lately an Honorary Member of the Aborigines Protection Society.*

Mrs. Grant is less known as the writer of the work from which the following character of the North American Indians is extracted, than for her "Letters from the Mountains." But the *American Lady*, which is now to be cited, is perhaps one of the most remarkable descriptions of domestic colonial manners, that has ever been written ; and it may justly be ranked along with the charming picture of the colonial scenes in the Isle of France, by Bernardin St. Pierre, in his Paul and Virginia. Mrs. Grant died in Edinburgh last year, at the age of ninety-two. She was born in the old colony of New York in 1746, the daughter of an officer of the 50th regiment, which, in her infancy, formed the garrison of remote posts on Lake Ontario ; now swarming with white towns, but then inhabited by Indians, or traversed by fur traders. She afterwards passed several years in habits of close intimacy with the family of the Schuylers of New York, the head of which is the principal subject of *the American Lady*.



Mrs. Grant deservedly enjoyed a pension from the crown, on the ground of literary merit ; to which Sir Walter Scott, Mr. Campbell, and Lord Jeffery bore testimony.

The following just character of the red Indians, of whom Mrs. Grant had much personal acquaintance, and very extensive traditional knowledge, is at present of peculiar value. She was no enthusiast ; and her evidence only renders probable that which recent experience in Canada, and in many parts of the United States seems to place beyond all doubt ; namely, that the application of proper means will elevate the North American Indians to the highest level of civilization, without destroying any one of their native virtues.

On the Mohawk River, about forty miles distant from Albany, there subsisted a confederacy of Indian tribes, of a very different character from those mentioned in the preceding chapter ; too sagacious to be deceived, and too powerful to be eradicated. These were the once renowned five nations, whom any one, who remembers them while they were a people, will hesitate to call savages. Were *they* savages who had fixed habitations ; who cultivated rich fields ; who built castles, (for so they called their not incommodious wooden houses, surrounded with palisadoes,) who planted maize and beans, and showed considerable ingenuity in constructing and adorning their canoes, arms, and clothing ! They who had wise though unwritten laws, and conducted their wars, treaties, and alliances with deep and sound policy ; they whose eloquence was bold, nervous, and animated ; whose language was sonorous, musical, and expressive ; who possessed generous and elevated sentiments, heroic fortitude, and unstained probity : Were these indeed savages ? The difference,

“Of scent the headlong lioness between  
“And hound sagacious, on the tainted green,”

is not greater than that of the Mohawks in point of civility and capacity, from other American tribes, among whom, indeed, existed a far greater diversity of character, language, &c., than Europeans seem to be aware of.

We are accustomed to talk, in parrot phrase, of indolent savages ; and to be sure in warm climates, and where the state of man is truly savage, that is to say, unsocial, void of virtue and void of comforts, he is certainly an indolent being ; but not that individual, in a cold climate, who has tasted the sweets of social life, who knows the wants that arise from it, who provides for his children in their helpless state, and where taste and ingenuity are so much improved, that his person is not only clothed with warm and seemly apparel, but decorated with numerous and not inelegant ornaments ; which from the scarcity and simplicity of his tools, he has no ready or easy mode of producing : when he has not only found out all these wants, which he has no means of supplying but by his individual strength, dexterity, and ingenuity, industry must be added, ere they can be all regularly gratified. Very active and industrious, in fact, the Indians were in their original state ; and when we take it into consideration, that beside all these occupations, together with their long journeys, wars, and constant huntings and fishing, their leisure was occupied not only by athletic but studious games ; at which they played for days together with unheard of eagerness and perseverance ; it will appear they had very little of that lounging time, for which we are so apt to give them credit. So that idleness, with its gloomy followers *ennui* and suicide, were unknown among this truly active people: yet that there

is a higher state of society cannot be denied ; nor can it be denied that the intermediate state is a painful and enfeebling one.

Alas ! the indolence with which we reproach them, was merely the consequence of their commercial intercourse with us, and of the fatal passion for strong liquors which resulted from it.

The small-pox was also so fatal to them, that whole tribes on the upper lakes have been extinguished by it. Those people being in the habit of using all possible means of closing the pores of the skin, by painting and anointing themselves with bears' grease, to defend them against the extremity of cold, to which their manner of life exposed them ; and not being habitually subject to any cutaneous disease, the small-pox rarely rises upon them ; from which it may be understood how little chance they had of recovering. All this I heard Aunt Schuyler relate, whose observations and reflections I merely detail.

For all the growing evils I have been describing, there was only one remedy, which the sagacity of my friend and her other self soon discovered ; and their humanity as well as principle led them to try all possible means of administering. It was the pure light and genial influence of christianity alone that could cheer and ameliorate the condition of these people, now, from a concurrence of circumstances scarcely to be avoided in the nature of things, deprived of the independence habitual to their own way of life, without acquiring in its room any of those comforts which sweeten ours. By gradually and gently unfolding to them the views of a happy futurity, and the means by which depraved humanity was restored to a participation of that blessing ; pride, revenge, and the indulgence of every excess of passion or appetite being restrained by the precepts of a religion ever powerful where it is sincere ; their spirits would be brought down from the fierce pride which despises improvement, to adopt such of our modes as would enable them to incorporate in time with our society, and procure for themselves a comfortable subsistence, in a country no longer adapted to supply the wants of the houseless rangers of the forest.

The narrow policy of many looked coldly on this benevolent project. Hunters supplied the means of commerce, and warriors those of defence ; and it was questionable whether a christian Indian would hunt or fight as well as formerly. This, however, had no power with those in whom christianity was any thing more than a name. There were already many christian Indians ; and it was very encouraging, that not one, once converted, had ever forsaken the strict profession of their religion, or ever, in a single instance, abandoned themselves to the excesses so pernicious to their unconverted brethren. Never was the true spirit of christianity more exemplified than in the lives of those comparatively few converts ; who about this time amounted to more than two hundred. But the tender care and example of the Schuylers co-operating with the incessant labours of a judicious and truly apostolic missionary, some years after greatly augmented their numbers in different parts of the continent : and to this day, the memory of David Brainerd, the faithful labourer alluded to, is held in veneration in those districts that were blessed with his ministry.



Art. III.—REPORT OF THE TRIAL OF ELEVEN MEN  
FOR THE MURDER OF A NATIVE IN NEW SOUTH  
WALES.

At the Anniversary of the Aborigines Protection Society last month, a gentleman who had resided in New South Wales, Mr. Boucher produced an indignant comment from a Sydney paper, upon verdict of a jury which acquitted certain men charged with murder. Mr. Boucher made a strong and humane statement in favour of the Natives, whom he had long known, and found to be kindly disposed, and useful to him as a settler. The following report of the trial will give to our readers a just impression of the way in which the Aborigines of Australia are "*disappearing*" as the phrase is, before civilization."

This report is taken from a different newspaper from that in which the letter to T. F. Buxton, Esq., read at the Anniversary was published.

The editor of the latter, Mr. E. S. Hall, has for many years been a strenuous advocate of the natives of Australia; and on a future occasion we shall not fail to examine his statements with the attention they deserve. One of the points he insists upon, that of the necessity of *enabling the Aborigines to be witnesses without oaths*, has already been taken up by this Society.

SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES.

*Supreme Court—Criminal side.*

THURSDAY, 15th Nov. 1838.—Before His Honour the Chief Justice, and the following Civil Jury:—

Messrs. Thomas Home, Butcher, Foreman; David Hill, George Humphries, John Harris, Joseph Hawson, J. Hooper, Charles Helmsley, Thomas Harper, William Howard, Andrew Higgins, and John Hall.

Charles Kilmaister, John Blake, William Hawkins, John Johnstone, Charles Toulouse, Charles Lamb, Edward Foley, James Coates, James Parry, George Palliser, and John Russell, were indicted for wilful murder.

The indictment contained nine counts, the first four, charging the murder of an aboriginal black, named Daddy, in various ways, by inflicting wounds with a pistol and a sword, of which he died; the next four counts charged the murder of a male aboriginal black, to the Attorney-General unknown, in the same manner, and with the same variations, as the first four counts; and the ninth count charged the death of a male aboriginal black, by casting and throwing him into certain burning logs of wood, and timber, and compelling him to remain in the fire until he died. In the last count, the whole of the prisoners were made principals in the first degree.

The Attorney-General and Mr. Thierry appeared for the prosecution; and Messrs. à Beckett, Foster, and Windeyer for the prisoners.

The Attorney-General, in a long and impassioned address to the jury,

stated that the case they were assembled to try was one of no ordinary importance, and if the jury had had the misfortune (and a misfortune it was proved to be) of hearing or reading out of Court, the *exparte* statements, and comments, which had gone abroad through the public press, he begged them to dismiss all previous impression from their minds, and in the consideration of their verdict, confine themselves to the evidence which would be laid before them. By the indictment they might suppose that the alleged murder was confined to two individuals, and for the sake of humanity, for the character of the colony, and for the honour of the British name, he wished that it had been—not so however, no fewer than twenty-eight human beings, men, women, and defenceless children, were inhumanly butchered in cold blood, and without provocation. (The learned Attorney entered into a long historical relation of the facts, and continued.) It was lamentable to see so many persons arraigned at the bar for so heinous an offence, but it was impossible not to notice, that they were to be defended by three talented gentlemen of the profession, *at the instance of an association, to which were associated the names of many gentlemen high in rank, who ought to be ashamed of allowing their names to be made use of for such a purpose.* He believed that many of the gentlemen whose names had been enrolled in the association, were not aware of the real intent of the association, which was virtually to protect the stock-keepers and shepherds in the extermination of the blacks. He was not aware of the acknowledged purposes of this association, but he had no hesitation in saying, that if they were what they had been described, the association was an illegal one, and if the proofs of its existence were to be obtained, the Crown officers would not be backward in doing their duty, by bringing the parties to justice. The law would not sanction an association formed for the express purpose of protecting the whites in their collisions with the blacks; such an association was calculated to encourage the commission of crimes, for which the prisoners were now arraigned—to encourage bloodshed. It could not be tolerated in any country, that gentlemen of rank should associate themselves together, to assume a power which they had put into their own hands, and to stretch a protecting hand over the convicts in their acts of aggression. Convict discipline was a string which had been harped upon by the very gentlemen who report said had been united in this disgraceful association—by gentlemen who ought to blush at putting pistols and swords into the hands of their convict servants to destroy human life, and at encouraging them with a declaration that it was a meritorious circumstance to destroy the blacks. He had addressed himself thus pointedly to the jury, not that he thought that any brutal or bloody article that appeared in a newspaper would influence their minds in the patient consideration of the case before them; nor did he think that such articles would operate on the minds of the public. If indeed he could suppose for a moment, that the newspaper to which he alluded, represented the public feeling on this subject, lamentable indeed would be the fate of New South Wales. He had a better opinion of the community, and he hoped that the jury, by a conscientious verdict, founded on evidence, would dissipate any unfavourable impressions that might have got abroad. The jury would hear from the Bench that the blacks were in law equally amenable for a breach of the law as the whites, and were entitled to equal protection. The law made no distinction, and with these remarks he would leave the case in their hands.

The following witnesses were then called:—

Thomas Foster—I am superintendent to Dr. Newton, at the Big River, beyond Liverpool Plains, and beyond the boundaries of the colony. I have been there about fifteen or sixteen months; I was there in June last; Dr. Newton's station is about sixteen miles from Mr. Dangar's; on

Saturday the 9th of June, I went in company with William Mae to Mr. Dangar's station; I slept there that night; I saw Anderson the hut-keeper, and a parcel of blacks, about thirty or forty in number, men, women, and children; I cannot state the proportions; I remained there that night, and left on the following morning, when Mr. Dight's overseer, and ten of the blacks, returned home with him, leaving the other blacks at Mr. Dangar's; on my return home, in consequence of information I received, I sent the ten blacks that accompanied me back to Mr. Dangar's, and I did not see them after; I saw them go in the direction of Dangar's; on the following morning, about half an hour after sun-rise, I saw a party of mounted men, some of them armed; there were about ten or twelve of them; two of them had pistols, but I don't recollect seeing any more arms; they went to the men's huts, and I spoke to two of the party; the two were Oates and Kilmaister: Oates was called Hall's Jemmy; he was armed; I asked him what was the matter? and he asked me where were the blacks? I said, "God knows where they are now," and we spoke no more on the subject; the remainder of the party might have heard, but they all came galloping up to the place; some of the men got off their horses, and went into the hut; I saw the prisoner Johnstone pass by my door, and he appeared to be going to the stock-yard; I recognize Johnstone, Oates, Kilmaister, and Hawkins, amongst the prisoners, as being of the party at my place; Kilmaister and Oates were armed; the prisoner Russell was also there; I don't recollect having seen any other of the prisoners; I had a conversation with Kilmaister; I said, "Well, Kilmaister, are you after the blacks?" he said, "Yes, they rushed my cattle yesterday." I believe he is an assigned servant to Mr. Dangar; they remained about a quarter of an hour at my place; they were at the men's huts, and I don't know what he was doing; Sexton was my house servant; I do not know whether they left any one at my place; I saw no black gin there; when they left me they went towards Mr. Dight's, which is about two miles from my place: Dight's and Dangar's were not in the same direction; I saw a party of horsemen shortly after, but I could not swear they were the same; in two or three days afterwards I went to Mr. Dangar's; I had business up that way; I saw Mr. Hobbs, Mr. Dangar's superintendent, and I accompanied him to a sheep station of my own, which was two or three miles from his station; I then parted with him, but reached Mr. Dangar's that evening, and stopped there all night; next morning Mr. Hobbs took me up half a mile from his house, upon a ridge, to see the remains of some blacks; Anderson's hut is almost adjoining Mr. Hobbs's house; Anderson is an assigned servant to Mr. Dangar; I saw the body of a black man with the head on, and the limbs apparently burned off; I saw a head without a body, and two or three skulls so destroyed by fire, as to render it impossible to say whether they were women or men; there was the remainder of a large fire; it appeared to be a recent fire, and I saw two or three skulls in the fire; there were two heads and a body that were not burned, and two or three skulls besides; I did not examine if there were any wounds upon them; I tracked some horses from Mr. Dangar's to that place; there must have been several horses; I then proceeded home; I stopped about five or ten minutes at the place—the smell was very offensive, and I found it overpower me; the place where I found the remains was on the side of a ridge, about half a mile from Mr. Dangar's, and the fire occupied a large space; I communicated the facts to several persons; I did not communicate it to the magistrates; Mr. Hobbs was with me at the place where the skulls were; Mr. Hobbs did not examine the bodies more closely, nor so closely as I did at that time; on the evening before, when I was at Mr. Dangar's, Kilmaister did not state to me that his cattle had been rushed; I saw him there.

Cross-examined by Mr. à Beckett.—What Kilmaister said about rushing the cattle, was in answer to a question I had put to him ; I tracked horses part of the way towards the bodies ; the tracks were on the public road ; I don't think I tracked the horses all the way ; it had been raining for two or three days, and it was easy to track them, I only saw Oates and Kilmaister armed ; it is very customary to meet people in their situation armed ; and it is not unusual to see them mounted : I believe it is customary to go armed, on account of the blacks ; I have been more fortunate than my neighbours, as I have never suffered from the blacks ; my station is in a central situation ; I am well surrounded by neighbours, and there is less danger to me than others ; there has not been any fight since I have been there ; I heard that before I went they attacked Oates, but I do not know ; I saw no children's skulls ; I have enumerated all that I did see ; Mr. Hobbs did not then say that he wished all the blacks had been killed.

By Mr. Therry. The tracks were on what we call the public road, but it is very little travelled ; it is *usual to see a stockman mounted and armed, but it is not usual to meet ten or twelve ; the blacks that I saw were not armed, and were quiet* ; I only wanted three boys, and I would much rather that the other seven had not followed ; *they were, however, quiet* ; I did not see any children's skulls.

By Mr. A'Becket. I know Daddy, the black ; his name is Daddy, at least Mr. Hobbs called him Daddy ; I never heard of a black called Daddy Daddy ; the blacks were unarmed with the exception of a tomahawk or two ; I think there were three tomahawks ; Daddy was a large bodied, but a short man.

William Hobbs. I am superintendent for Mr. Henry Dangar ; I have been with him about two years, at Big River, and,

I recollect the beginning of the month of June last, I left my station on the 7th of June, on a Thursday, to visit another station about sixty miles down the river ; I left Kilmaister and Anderson in charge of the Mile Creek station when I went ; there were about forty or fifty blacks—men, women, and children, at the station when I left ; there were ten or twelve children, and as many women, and the rest were men ; the blacks had been ten or twelve days at my hut, and *they behaved themselves quietly* ; if they had not, they would not have been allowed to remain there ; I returned to the station on the 15th of June, I cannot say what day of the week it was ; there was a black named Davey at the station when I left, I found him there when I returned. In consequence of information I received, I sent for Kilmaister up to my house, and asked him what had become of the blacks ; he said he did not know ; I told him I heard they were murdered, and he knew all about it ; he said he knew nothing about it, and had no hand in it ; I told him I heard he was down at Dr. Newton's and Mr. Dight's stations with the men, who came to the station, and I asked him what he did then ; he said he was looking after his cattle ; I then spoke to the Black Davey, but not in presence of Kilmaister ; I asked Davey to go with me to where the blacks were, about half a mile from my station ; *I was directed to the place by the tracks of blacks' feet and horses' hoofs* ; there had been rain and the tracks were plain ; the tracks I saw were more like shoes of blacks than white ; there were children's foot marks ; there were more than one or five ; I could not tell how many horses there were ; *the horses tracks were on each side of the native tracks ; the tracks were going in a westerly direction, and took me to where I found a number of bodies lying ; the stench was so great from them that I could not count them with accuracy* ; I endeavoured to count them but I made sometimes more than at others ; *I counted twenty-eight heads and forms of bodies* ; a number of the heads had been burned ; some of the skulls were quite burned,



but the frame of it was sufficiently distinct to show that they were skulls ; I can undertake to swear there were at least twenty human beings ; the bodies were terribly disfigured ; I knew a native of the name of Daddy ; he was an old man and the largest man I ever saw in my life, either white or black ; I saw a large body there, but it had no head on and I could not swear to it, but from the size of it I should say it was his ; I left Daddy at the station with the other blacks when I left ; I saw children's heads,—from ten to twelve quite distinct ; there were also some of the children's bodies quite distinct ; the bodies were disfigured, partly burned, and different members destroyed altogether ; I was satisfied in my own mind that the large body I saw was that of Daddy the black ; it was lying on its back, but I could not say how the head was taken off ; there was a little flesh on the body. I believe it to be the body of a man, and the body of Daddy ; I saw several heads with the flesh on them ; I could not recognize any of them ; there were some males and females ; there were several heads of which the fire had not burned the hair ; the heads appeared to me to have been taken off ; I should say they were not burned off, because the heads were lying away from the bodies ; I cannot say that they were cut off ; no person but Davey was with me that evening, the 15th, but Mr. Foster went with me on the 16th ; I followed the tracks from Anderson's hut up to the spot where the bodies were lying ; I dare say the tracks are there to this day ; the fire covered a large space, half as large as the space enclosed in this court ; the remains of the fire were quite distinct ; I saw several places all round, where the ground was stained with blood ; I endeavoured to muster them as well as I could, but the stench would not suffer me to do it correctly ; I went with Mr. Foster the next day ; he went close to it, but I did not go so close ; I was unwell from the stench ; I don't think Mr. Foster looked at it so accurately as I did the day before ; he did not stop more than a minute ; I stopped a quarter of an hour the day before, examining them ; the bodies were dragged about the second day ; the native dogs would diminish the number every hour ; there were a great number of birds of prey about, eagle-hawks and crows ; when I returned home the second day, I spoke to Kilmaister about it ; Mr. Foster had left me and gone home ; I told Kilmaister it was a very cruel thing for him to sanction the murder of these people, as he appeared to be on such friendly terms when I left ; I also said that it was through him that the blacks were allowed to come to the station ; Kilmaister was a confidential servant, and I always depended upon him ; I told him I considered it my duty to report it to Government ; he said he hoped I would not—not that he had any thing to do with it, but as he had been a long time with Mr. Dangar, it might cause him to be removed and returned to government ; he appeared to be greatly alarmed about it ; I told him I should report it to Mr. Dangar, and I wrote a letter for that purpose ; when I had written the letter I ordered all the men to come and hear what I had written, Kilmaister, Anderson, and my servant Burrows ; I read the letter, and Kilmaister appeared to be very uneasy about it, and I thought he would take the bush ; he said, "*I hope, Sir, you won't report, for Jesus Christ sake, don't report it ;*" he said that while I was away the blacks that were murdered had been rushing and spearing the cattle ; he did not tell me this at first ; I had to leave the station, and on my return I told Kilmaister that as he had stated the blacks had speared the cattle, and there were some on the run, he must go and show me where they were ; I was out two or three days and could not find any, and I then thought he had been deceiving me, and I told him I should report the circumstance ; the blacks I left at the station were brought to the station at the instance of Kilmaister himself ; *they were quiet and inoffensive people as far as I saw ;* I had conver-

sations afterwards with Kilmaister ; I observed on the cruelty of the act, and observed that they had not even the decency to bury the remains ; he said that if I liked, he would go and bury them, but I told him as he had stated he had nothing to do with the murder, he had better not, as there was sure to be an inquiry about it, and it might be said that he went to bury the bodies out of the way ; he always denied it to me, and I always thought he was innocent until I heard the depositions taken ; *not a day elapsed but he was dancing and singing with them when he came home from work* ; Kilmaister told me the men took the blacks away from the station ; Kilmaister said he would not go with the men, and that Davey would prove it ; Davey was present when he said this ; he had my permission to carry a brace of pistols : I always carried them myself for safety ; I was at Mr. Eaton's station on the 20th ; I saw Parry there, and in consequence of information I had received, I said, "Jemmy, this is a bad job, and I am very sorry you are one of the number ;" he said, "it is, Sir, but I hope there will be nothing more about it ;" I think it was in July when Mr. Day came to the stations ; he came there to investigate the murder ; I forwarded my communication to Mr. Day ; I have not settled with Mr. Dangar yet, but I believe I shall leave his employ in consequence of this business ; I was at the station when Mr. Day went there, and I showed him the place where the dead bodies had been ; the bodies were not there then, but I don't know how they were removed ; there were some rib bones, and children's jaws picked up ; there were several small pieces of skull picked up ; the heads had been removed ; I never went to the place from the time I went with Mr. Foster, until Mr. Day came.

Cross-examined by Mr. Foster. I was at Myall Creek the greater part of the time I was with Mr. Dangar, except when I went to the other stations after cattle ; Kilmaister always denied having any thing to do with the murder ; I never went out without being armed ; the place is beyond the boundary of the colony ; the arms were at the station for the protection of the men ; I would not go out there myself without fire arms to protect myself against the blacks ; I should think that no man would be safe, away back on the cattle runs, without arms ; I question if there is a better servant in New South Wales than Kilmaister, and a more quiet peaceable disposition ; from his general quiet and peaceable character, I should not think him to be a man likely to be concerned in the murder ; a black named Davey, showed me the place where the fire had been kindled ; the place appeared to be much in the same state when I went with Mr. Foster, as on the previous evening, with the exception of some of the bodies being removed by the native dogs ; Foster had not the same opportunity of seeing the bodies so well as I had ; he did not stop a minute ; I saw one body, the large one, which was much disfigured, the flesh was off the legs and thighs, and there was flesh on the breast and trunk ; I will not swear that the black called Daddy, is not at present in existence.

By the Attorney-General. I have never seen Daddy since ; I never saw a female so large as the frame I speak of ; I have never seen any of the tribe of blacks since then, and I have made inquiries for them.

Mr. E. Day, Police Magistrate at Musclebrook ; I received information in the latter end of June, which induced me to visit Mr. Dangar's station ; I reported the circumstance to the Colonial Secretary, as it was not in my district, and some time after I was directed to proceed with a party of mounted police, and make inquiry into the report ; I went to Mr. Dangar's station, and on the evening I arrived, Mr. Hobbs accompanied me to the place where a murder was reported to have been committed ; I examined the spot, which was about fourteen yards round, and there were a number of small fragments of bones ; but the

placc had the appearance of having been swept, and the large cinders which would remain after a large fire had been removed; I found fragments of bones, some teeth, the jaw bone of a human being; I should say they were all human bones (Mr. Day produced the bones in Court); I examined a great number of witnesses and committed the prisoners; the prisoner Parry was represented to me as having expressed great sorrow for the circumstance, and I asked him if he had any statement to make; he denied knowing any thing about it, and had nothing to say: I was out seven days in making this inquiry.

George Anderson, an assigned servant to Mr. Dangar. I was at the station Myall Creek as a hut-keeper; I was there nine months; Mr. Hobbs is superintendent there; I recollect his leaving home to go to the Big River, in the beginning of June; there were native blacks at the station when he left; I don't know how many, but there were more than twenty; I won't swear there were not forty; about ten men came to the station about that time; they were on horseback, and armed with muskets, swords, and pistols; they were all armed; they galloped up to the hut with their arms pointed at the hut; they were talking to Kilmaister; *I know all the prisoners except two (Blake and Parry) they were all there*; I cannot swear that the other two men were not there, but I don't recollect them; the blacks were all coupled together close to the hut, and the prisoners galloped up and surrounded them; I can't say who rode up first; this was about an hour and a half before sun-down; there were also plenty of women and children among the blacks; when the blacks saw the men coming they ran into the hut, and the men got off their horses; *Russell had a rope round the horse's neck, and he began to undo it; whilst he was undoing the rope, I asked what they were going to do with the blacks, and Russell said they were going to take them over the range to frighten them; Russell and some one or two of them went into the hut, and they tied the blacks; I cannot say who tied them as I was outside; I heard the blacks crying for relief to me and Kilmaister; they were crying and moaning the same as a lot of children would cry*; there were many who could not walk; the whole party then went away taking the blacks with them; one went in front and took the rope to which the blacks were tied, and the rest followed after, and on each side: all the blacks were tied on this rope; I saw one pair of handcuffs; the rope was a long tether rope; they took all the blacks away except two little boys that made their escape by jumping into the creek; they left one black gin with me in the hut; they left her, because she was good looking; I do not know which said so; and they left another black gin with the black man that stopped with me called Davey; a little child which was at the back of the hut when they were tying the blacks; when they were all going away, I took hold of the child and stopped it from going; I had five blacks with me; I kept the child; they all went away with the exception of what I kept; there was an old man called Daddy amongst the blacks; he was the oldest of the lot; he was a very big tall man; there was another old man named Joc amongst them, and they were tied like the rest; some of the biggest of the boys were tied, but others who were not able to walk, were carried by the gins; whilst they were tying the blacks, Kilmaister got his horse ready; he had been talking to the other men before he went for his horse; I do not know what they were talking about as I was frightened; I know Oates, Jemmy as they call him, he was armed with pistols; there were a great many pistols amongst them; I know Foley, but I cannot say how he was armed; I saw him standing at the door with a pistol in his hand: I saw swords with them when they came galloping up; Kilmaister went away with them when they took the blacks away; after they went away, about a quarter of an hour or



twenty minutes, I heard two shots fired ; the report came from the direction they went in ; I heard only two shots ; I heard no other sounds ; the same men came back to the hut on the next night ; they were altogether except Kilmaister, who was left behind ; one of the party gave me Kilmaister's saddle off his horse ; and Kilmaister came himself in about a quarter of an hour after they came ; the party stopped there all night ; the night they stopped there, I and Kilmaister slept together ; all the men slept in the same hut ; in the morning three of them took fire-sticks out of the hut, after breakfast, and went in the direction they had gone before ; Russell, Fleming, and Kilmaister were the men ; when they were going, Fleming told Kilmaister to bring the leg rope home ; they asked me for a leg rope, and I gave it to them ; they went in the direction they had taken the blacks ; all the men but one went, and one was left with me as a guard ; Foley was left with me ; when I was in the hut with Foley after the rest were gone, and I asked him whether any of the blacks had made their escape ; he said that none he saw, they were all killed but one black gin who was saved ; before the party came back, Foley drew a sword out of the case, and it was all over with blood ; during that time the black fellow Davey and his brother came to me and asked me to let him have a musket ; he was going to cut a whipstick ; Foley would not let him have one, and he went without it ; the party came back about an hour after they went, and I saw a smoke in the direction they had been ; they got up their horses, and Fleming told Kilmaister to go up by and by, and put the logs of wood together, and to be sure that all was consumed ; some of them were in the hut, and must have seen them ; Kilmaister went away shortly after the party left the station, and stopped away all day ; when he returned, he brought back the horse he had left the day before ; I never went near the place ; I did not like to go, after what Davey, the black fellow, told me ; Kilmaister could not have been all the day looking for his horse ; the horse was knocked up and could not go ; there was a great smoke all the day in the direction where they had been ; I was at home when Mr. Day and the police came there ; Kilmaister was also at home ; on the morning after the party went away, I found a piece of an old sword, but I did not observe any blood on it ; it did not belong to my station, it came with the party ; I gave it to Mr. Hobbs one night after the police went away ; when the police came to the station, Kilmaister said, " For God's sake, mind what you say, and do not say I went with them but a quarter of an hour after ; " that was not the truth, he went with them at the same time ; they took the black gin that was saved away with them ; the two boys, the child, and the two black gins I sent away with ten blacks, who came to the hut from Mr. Foster's ; the ten blacks who had been to Mr. Foster's, came back about ten o'clock of the night that the party had taken the other blacks ; I sent them away, because I did not want to keep them, for fear the men would come back and kill them.

By Mr. Windeyer. I had gone to bed when the ten blacks came from Mr. Foster's ; I did ask for that gin to be left behind ; I did ask them to leave one gin behind ; Davey had been a good time at the station ; I don't know why they spared Davey unless it was that Davey was a little more naturalised and belonged to the station ; there was a gin left for me, although not the one I wanted ; I wish they had left all with me ; I wanted them to leave me a gin that I had had before ; she was a black fellow's gin ; I will swear that I did stay in the hut after they left ; Davey stopped at the station with me ; he did not go with the party ; I never went to the place where the murder was committed ; I did not see any bush fires about before that day ; I only heard two shots fired and heard them quite plain ; I can't recollect telling Mr. Hobbs all that



I have now told ; I told him they had taken the blacks away and I could not help them ; I told Mr. Hobbs that I did not know who they were ; I can't recollect anything I said to Burrows ; I don't recollect saying that I was sorry that I had not made it worse for Kilmaister ; when I was first examined I only identified one man ; I don't know how long it was before the magistrates came up ; I swore to all of them by sight, but I did not know their names ; I knew all of their names, I knew all of their faces a month after, and I know them now ; Russell and Fleming I knew by name ; I had a second examination ; I did not say all at first ; I said all I could recollect, and I recollected some things after that I could not recollect at the time ; I have been five years in the colony and come here for life ; I never said that I expected to get my liberty for this business ; I don't expect any thing, and all that I will ask for is protection ; I don't recollect that the magistrates threatened to commit me for perjury ; I said I did not think I could recollect the men, and the magistrate said that I might be committed for not thinking ; I have been punished once for leaving the station ; I never was in the bush ; I was in New England when Mr. Dangar had me punished ; I do not think that I deserved punishment at the time ; to speak the truth, I did not deserve punishment, and if you like I will tell you all about it, and then you can judge for yourselves ; I came down from New England to Patrick's plains ; I was eight days walking it ; the charge against me was for not shifting the folds, and being away from my station ; I came here for life for robbing my master ; I was foolish and ignorant, and lead away by other people ; I was guilty of what I was sent here for, but that was the only time I ever committed any thing ; Foley was left to guard the arms that were left in the hut ; I thought he was left there to make me believe anything ; I have been frightened by the blacks ; I was frightened once at New England ; a black fellow came to my station, and I was frightened, but he went away when I spoke to him ; I knew Joey, and King Sandy and his wife and all, they were all taken away ; the gin I wanted them to leave was called Ipeta, she had no other name ; there were two Sandy's ; I did not know the names of all the blacks ; I know Tommy and Joey, and Daddy and Sandy and his wife, and little Charles, Sandy's son.

By the Attorney-general—Davey the black who was left at the hut, did not belong to that tribe. He belonged to the Peel tribe ; he came with some stock from the Peel ; he was completely domesticated at Mr. Dangar's ; when I told Mr. Hobbs that I did not know any of the party, I meant, that I did not recollect having seen any of the party before, but I should know them if I saw them ; the fire place was covered with pistols ; I counted fifteen.

John Bates.—I am an assigned servant to Mr. Dight, of Richmond, and I was stationed at the Big river ; my station is about two miles from Dr. Newton's station ; I was there in the early part of June ; I saw a party of stock keepers at Dr. Newton's station ; there were about ten or twelve ; they asked if there were any blacks there, and I told them none ; I knew some of them, I knew a man of Mr. Hall's, named James (Oates,) also Lamb, and Mr. Eaton's man, (Parry,) Hawkins, Johnstone ; those are all I can recognise ; they asked if there were any blacks cutting bark ; I don't know who asked the question but it was one out of the party ; they were armed with pistols and swords, and small guns, but I cannot say the individuals that were armed ; they rode away from Dr. Newton's station ; on Monday, the same party came to my station, and they had breakfast with me ; they were alighted when I went into the hut ; when I went in a black gin was sitting by the fire ; I had been in the hut a few minutes before, and the black gin was not there when I went out ; both she and the men were there when I went back to the

hut ; the men I have already mentioned were there ; there were ten or twelve men altogether ; Kilmaister and Hall's Jemmy were at my place with the party on Monday morning ; some one said that they would call for the black woman, but I do not know who it was that said so ; Mr. Eaton's man said that they had settled the blacks ; I do not recollect saying any thing about its being a serious job ; they stopped about an hour and a half ; I have not heard of it at this time, and I never said any thing to them about Mr. Foster's being gone to report it, because I did not know it before, and I cannot say how Parry happened to say what he did ; I cannot recollect any conversation that passed then.

Andrew Burrows, assigned to Mr. Henry Dangar.—I was living there in June last ; I went with cattle to the lower station before Hobbs left ; there were a good many blacks at the station when I left : there were even women and children ; I knew an old man, they called him Daddy, he was a large man : I was away about ten days : I heard about the blacks before I arrived at the station—I arrived at the station three days after it had happened : I told Kilmaister that I had heard the blacks were taken away from the station, and I said that Mr. Hobbs would be angry when he heard of it ; Kilmaister told me to mind my own business, and that he knew nothing about them : he said a lot of men went to the hut and took them away, and he did not know what became of them : I was at Mr. Bell's station, where Russell stopped, as I went down with the cattle ; I saw some men there : I saw Hawkins, Toulouse, Russell, Foley, Palliser, and I think Johnstone, but I cannot swear positively to him : there was a man of his colour there : they talked about the blacks : they asked me if the blacks were at one station, and I told them yes, for four or five weeks, but that was a lie for they had not been so long there : they said they could not be the blacks who had done the depredation down the river : Russell was fixing some straps on his sword, and he was making a small pouch : some of them said they were going out to look after the blacks who had taken cattle away from some stockmen down the river : they said that they wished Jem Lamb was come : I did not hear them say what number of men they expected : they said they did expect some men, but they did not state the number : after I had left Russell, I met a man armed with a fowling-piece and a sword slung by his side, but I do not know who he was : when I returned, I did not find Russell at home : I only called at the milking yard, and got a drink of milk : I heard after that that the armed man I had met was called Fleming.

By Mr. A'Beckett—It was not a very strange thing to meet stockmen armed : it is common for them to be armed there : I know Anderson, who frequently had a row with Kilmaister : one night when we were in bed, he said he was sorry for one thing he had done—he was sorry he had not told all the truth ; he said if he had known as much as he did then, he must have made it worse for him : I do not know whether he had been examined twice.

By the Attorney General—I was afraid because Mr. Day was making such inquiries, that I might have been brought into the business ; I know that Anderson was on the bed when he was called up to be examined by Mr. Day the first time ; Kilmaister was taken away by the police at this time.

William Mace, a ticket-of-leave man in Mr. Dight's service—A party of men came to my station in June last, on the 11th of the month ; some of them were armed, and they brought a black gin with them ; the black gin was left there, but I don't know who by ; there were from ten to a dozen men, and they had breakfast ; I know Kilmaister, Hawkins, Johnstone, Toulouse, Foley, Black, and Oates ; there was nothing said about the blacks ; it is a usual thing to see men armed, but not ten or twelve ; no one came for the black gin.

By Mr. Foster—It is a common thing for the stock-keepers to go armed, and in bodies when they go to a distant part of the bush; I am certain I saw King Sandy the day before; he came with Mr. Foster; I know it was on the 10th of June; my place is about sixteen miles from Mr. Dangar's.

Charles Reid, a ticket-of-leave man in Mr. Henry Dangar's employ; I took some bullocks from Myall Creek to the lower station at the Big River, in June last; the distance is about sixty miles; we stopped at Russell's on the third day after we started from home; there was a man named Palliser, another named Hawkins, another named Foley, and Toulouse there; Burrows was with me; I don't recollect hearing any thing particular; they asked if there were any blacks up at our place, and we told them there were; I saw a musket and sword with Russell, who was putting a buckle on a strap, and they said that the blacks had been rushing the cattle down the river, but they could not see any; Russell was making a pouch, such as stock-men use for ammunition; I stopped at the lower station and did not return; on the road we met the man Fleming.

William Hobbs recalled—I sent Burrows and Reid with cattle to the lower station on the 5th June; Russell's station is about forty miles from our lower station; it was on the evening of the 15th that I saw the skulls and bodies.

Ambrose Foss, I am a dentist—I see a jaw bone, which is that of a human being; there are two teeth in it; there are also several teeth, which are also human teeth; they have been burned; I believe the bone to be the rib bone of a human being, but I cannot swear that it is; it is that of a child, not of an adult.

This was the case for the prosecution. Mr. A'Beckett contended that there was no evidence on the first four counts, as the identity of the black, Daddy, had not been sworn to by any witness. On the remaining counts he contended, that there had been no evidence that a *male* black had been killed or was dead; that none of the witnesses could speak as to the sexes, which was left as a matter of doubt; and that according to the rule laid down by Lord Hale, that no conviction should take place unless the body was found, in consequence of two executions having taken place when the parties were alive, though missing, a conviction in this case would leave the parties in the same position. Messrs. Foster and Windeyer followed on the same side.

His honour referred to his notes and said, that there was sufficient evidence to go to the Jury.

The prisoners offered nothing in defence, but called witnesses.

Mr. Henry Dangar resides at St. Patrick's Plains—Knew the prisoner Kilmaister, who is in his service, and is a very trustworthy servant. Anderson the witness, was also in his service, and he would not believe him on his oath; he was extremely addicted to telling lies, and upon the most trifling occasion he had not been able to place the slightest reliance on him.

Cross-examined by the Attorney-General—He came into my service in 1833, and was under my immediate controul for a length of time; he was under Mr. Hobbs two years; he was punished more than once; he was in charge of a station, and he went away and left the station for two or three days; I won't swear he was absent all the time; I visited the station when he was away, and I prosecuted him myself: if Kilmaister had left his station, I should have got him punished: I heard generally of the black affair, but Kilmaister was out of my power then: I have no ill feeling towards Hobbs: he is about to leave my service, as his term has expired; it expired last month: I don't know that this business has accelerated it: I was at the place where the fire had been: I went with

Mr. Hobbs: he pointed out where the bodies had been: it was represented to me that Kilmaister had joined the party: I found Anderson generally unruly and troublesome, more than all my men, in being disobedient to orders, and telling me falsehoods: I can't recollect particular instances: the instances on which he has been very troublesome and telling me a lie: on the last occasion he said that he had been to look for sheep, and I knew he had not been: at the same time he was sent from one station with a cart to another, and he returned and stated he had lost the beast on the road: I afterwards heard that he had stopped at a station, and not stopped on the road: I am a subscriber to defending the men, because I have a faithful servant among them, and I don't think him guilty of murder.

Mr. James Cobb—I reside at Maitland: I know the prisoner Lamb: he has been in my service two years, and I consider him a quiet, inoffensive man.

Mr. Thomas Simpson Hall—I know the prisoner Oates; he has been three years in my employ, and he has stood as high in my opinion as any man in his situation I ever had.

Mr. George Bowman—I am a farmer and grazier at Richmond; Johnstone has been about five years and a half in my service: the last four years and a half I found him a steady quiet man, and did the confidential work: he is free by servitude.

By the Attorney-General—He has been two years with Mr. Cox, and I know nothing of him for those two years.

Mr. George Jolliffe, Superintendent to Mr. Bell—I know Russell and Palliser, who have been under my charge for two years: Russell has been a very active, quiet, well disposed man: Palliser was as good a character.

By Mr. Therry—I don't know that there was much going after the blacks: at the time this happened I was in Sydney, and know nothing of it.

The case closed here.

His Honour summed up at great length, recapitulated the whole of the evidence, and left the case with the jury, who, after an absence of a quarter of an hour, returned into Court and acquitted all the prisoners.

The Attorney-General applied to have the prisoners remanded, to enable him to prefer other charges against them. The prisoners were accordingly remanded, and the Court adjourned at ten o'clock.

*At the second trial, seven of the accused men were found guilty, and were executed.*

#### Art. IV. KIDNAPPING INDIANS ON THE BORDERS OF BRITISH GUIANA.

The following letter was lately sent by a respectable British officer to Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq., as President of the Aborigines Protection Society. The brutal practice which the writer denounces is far indeed from being new. It is described in just terms of indignation by one of the ablest of our living authors, in an extract which lies before us, and which was addressed to the late Thomas Pringle, as Secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society.

“I grieve,” says Mr. Southey, “to learn from Lieut. Mawe, who has just come down the Amazons from Peru, that in Para the same system of hunting the Indians for slaves, which prevailed in the



time of Vieyra, exists to this day in all its atrocity. Dutch, English, French, Spaniards, or Portuguese, it matters not what the race may be, wherever the desire of gain becomes the main principle of action, nations are degraded, and individuals brutalized."

Fort San Joaquim di Rio Branco, Aug. 25, 1838.

SIR,—

What more assurance does it need for the friend of the Indian, that yet a day of regeneration from barbarism to civilization may dawn to the neglected tribes of Aborigines, who inhabit one of Britain's most important colonies, than to see at the head of an association, which professes to devise means for their amelioration, a man to whom liberty owes already one of her best crowns for his exertions, to free hundreds and thousands of his fellow-creatures from the chains of bondage?

On the 1st of August arrived an expedition from the Rio Negro, who professed to be commanded by the authorities, to press Indians for the Brazilian Navy. At its head stood a man, who is already famed for the successful descent upon the unsuspecting Indians, 'not for the conquest of souls, but for selling them as slaves to his allies.'

I had full reason to suspect that they intended to invade the Macusi village of Pirarira, or Pirara, where since May last, a missionary of the Church Society in London, has settled, and where the fruits of his exertions are just commencing to become visible. Pirara is situated on the lake Amucu, once so famed in the mythology of the White Sea, or Pirimi of Raleigh, Keymis and Masham. This village consisted in June of about thirty-one Indian huts, a building intended for a chapel, and a house for the missionary, containing a population of about 200 souls.

Actuated by the zeal of being informed in the Christian religion, and directed by a higher power, these poor benighted beings erected a chapel, and a dwelling-house, to the best of their abilities, long before it was decided whether the Church Missionary Society intended to maintain a missionary to the Macusi Indians.

In a conversation with the Lord Bishop of Barbadoes, after the return from my first expedition, I took the liberty to recommend Pirara in particular, as the site of a mission, not only in consequence of its salubrity, but as being likewise a central place between the Conoco and Pacarima mountains, both inhabited by Macusi and Wapishana Indians.

In the Rev. Mr. Youd, the society found an arduous labourer for the conversion of the Indian, and a real friend of the Aborigines, and he received his appointment in the early part of this year.

Scarcely was it made known to the Macusi in Pirara, and its vicinity, when thirty able men undertook a journey of three months' duration, in order to escort him from the Mission at Barteeka-point, at the confluence of the river Mazaruni, with the Essequibo, to Pirara.

I was present at his arrival, and witnessed the joy, when the chapel, built by heathens, was consecrated to the worship of the only true and living God; I have witnessed the foundation of schools, and have seen infants and adults, who a month previous to his arrival, were not able to articulate the first letter in the alphabet, reading without fault whole sentences.

But it is not only the object of the zealous missionary, to make them acquainted with the rudiments of civilization by example and words, he shows them the necessity of labouring, and thus he tries to awaken them from their habitual indolence and lethargy. Like all the savage tribes of Guiana, the Macusi go almost entirely naked; it has been his endeavour to implant modesty in their breast, and on a Sunday, many are

seen in simple gowns, their hair arranged, and the men in trowsers and shirts.

These were the fruits of two months' exertion, when myself and party left Pirara, at the end of June. How distressing was it therefore to conelude from certain words, that the press-gang contemplated a descent on Pirara.

At the present uncertain state, how far the boundaries of the Brazils extend, only those parts can be truly called Brazilian, where the Portuguese, or later the Brazilians, have taken actual possession —. Nothing is known that their possession extended east of Fort San Joaquim, and in that case, the 'Meteor Flag' of Great Britain, waved previously to the Brazilian banner at Pirara; we hoisted it with all the honours at our command, at her Majesty's last birthday, at the square which the village forms.

In this uncertainty I remonstrated with Senhor Pedro Ayres, whom the commander of the district of the Upper Amazon, Ambroxio P. Ayres, at Manaos, had dispatched to welcome me at the Brazilian Boundary, and I observed to him, that if Indians were pressed at Pirara, I should be under the necessity to report the matter to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and I am happy to say I received his promise, to use his undoubted influence, to turn the desolating effect of pressing Indians for the present at Pirara; and as already the greatest commotion was prevailing in that village, I lost no time to communicate Senhor Ayres's promise to the Rev. Mr. Youd.

The press-gang had meanwhile increased their force, by engaging a Macusi captain, with a number of his people, who are settled on the Brazilian territory, and they descended the Rio Branco, landed at a day's journey from the fort, and commenced their march overland towards the Ursato Mountains, which are situated on the Eastern bank of the river Takatu, an affluent of the Rio Branco. Here arrived, near a populous settlement of Wapeshanas and Atoroyas, they awaited the mantle of the night in ambush, and fell over their unsuspecting victims, when enjoying their first sleep—nevertheless many escaped, and they were (only with a few exceptions) old men, sucking babies, children and women, whom they secured. After having sacked the village of every thing that could be carried away, and even secured the hunting dogs, parrots, balls of cotton, &c. of the poor Indians, they commenced their return, having first tied those, from whom they expected resistance. Even the hands of children, not more than five or six years of age, were tied on their back, and several of the females were treated in the same manner.

While on the journey, their provisions gave out, and driven like cattle over the Savannahs, flanked by heartless villains with loaded muskets on their shoulders, they arrived finished at the landing place, and were conveyed to Fort San Joaquim.

*Their number consisted of forty individuals, namely, eighteen children under twelve years of age, thirteen women, and nine men; of which only four were under thirty years of age, and two above fifty.*

The Brazilian government would never venture such a step, directly or indirectly, if the limits were properly determined, and stipulated between the two governments; and for this purpose I have written to the Geographical Society, and to you, Sir, as President of an Association which has been founded for promoting the amelioration of the Aboriginal races, I need not recommend the ease.

I have now travelled for the last three years among the various tribes of Indians, who inhabit the interior of Guiana, and the idea, that those who have not been converted to Christianity are a barbarous race, is entirely erroneous. They are possessed of strong moral virtues, and the stranger, who does not interfere with their customs, and who does not

give willingly offence, is sacred; and in no instance have I, or any of those, who have accompanied me, been robbed or deprived of the value of a pin, though our small party was entirely at their mercy. In every instance, we were the objects of their hospitality.

It would be an easy task to convert the numerous nations of Macusis, Wapeshanas, and Atoroyas, who inhabit these regions, to the Christian religion, and to form them into a useful community; but some exertions ought to be made at home, to procure to the Indians of British Guiana, security against Brazilian kidnappers, which only could be effectually done, by having the limits properly determined.

The rapid progress which the interesting colony of British Guiana is making, will soon place it among one of the most important possessions over which Great Britain extends her sway. It is out of place here, to allude to its fertility, and the rich treasures which its natural productions afford. In its present state, it may be divided into three distinct zones. Along the coast, reign the merchant and the agriculturist, and thousands of acres of cultivated land, produce the staple articles sugar, coffee, and cotton; behind the plantations extends a mass of forest, the emporium of the woodcutter, who, with the assistance of the native Indians, avails himself of the treasures which these immense forests offer to his industry. In this division, civilization is in its infancy. The Indian, by his intercourse with his employer, becomes acquainted with the customs of Europeans; he observes their dress, and wishes to imitate them. The means to procure these luxuries are offered to him, and we soon see him expert in felling and squaring timber, and in making shingles, which surpass in durability the best cedar shingles of North America. As a testimony how valuable the Indian's labour proves to the woodcutter, I state here the opinion of Mr. McCallum, a respectable woodcutter, and one of the greatest experience. "I have invariably found," he says, "that the Indian sets to work at once with good heart, and remains at it until his task is finished, which is generally two or three hours earlier than the negroes; but not satisfied with this, he continues to work in his own hours, and, I know many an Indian, who, besides his regular wages, earns from two to three dollars a-week. They are also, in my opinion, more honest. Were the Indian well treated, he would prove an invaluable labourer," (See my "Ascent of the River Berbice," Journal of the Geographical Society, Vol. VII. part II. p. 305.)

The next and last division, forms the deep forest, only penetrable by rivers which traverse it, and the vast Savannahs between the rivers Essequibo, Rupununy, and Branco. This section is inhabited by Indians of various tribes, who, as already stated, possess every moral virtue, but, Alas! their knowledge of Christian virtues, and the principles of the Christian religion, have hitherto been withheld from them.

It is only lately that the infantine mission of Pirara has been founded, and at the period of its foundation, it is already threatened with destruction by the invasion of unprincipled men.

In order to arrest such proceedings, and to forward the cause of civilization, I have addressed myself to you, the friend of oppressed mankind.

Nature itself points out the southern boundary of British Guiana, these are the chief points to which I beg leave to draw your attention.

The establishment of missions to the Indians of British Guiana, is of the greatest importance. If we consider the advance of civilization, which are due to the exertions of Catholic missionaries in Columbia, it is much to be regretted that hitherto so little has been done for the Indians, who inhabit this colony, and are subjects to her Majesty our most gracious Sovereign. Until lately, the mission at Barteka point, on the Esse-

quibo, was the only religious institution which had the conversion of Indians for its object.

The missions have been generally the forerunners of civilization; families of colour settle amongst the Indians, and when the young settlement has been properly conducted, a village has arisen where formerly wilderness reigned paramount. The example of the new settlers, exerts the greatest influence over the Indian; he loses his original manners and language, and this step gained towards civilization, agricultural pursuits follow soon after, and thus civilization advances from the coast towards the limits of the colony.

These observations are sufficient to prove, not only in a philanthropical and religious view, but likewise in a political respect, that a settlement of the boundaries of British Guiana becomes desirable; and to your influence and connections, united with the endeavours of the Society which you head, (without presuming,) I beg leave to recommend, that the cause of the poor Indian be represented to her Majesty's government, in such an impressive manner, that also this portion of our youthful Sovereign's subjects may date their amelioration from the earliest part of her reign, and the first step towards this measure is, to secure the mission so prosperously begun, from the blasting effects of a Brazilian descent. Of equal importance is the foundation and maintenance of missions, adequate to the population, and I conclude with the pleasing hope, that the Indian, like the descendant of the African, taught to pray to his God, will likewise include you in his daily prayer as his benefactor.

I promise myself the pleasure to address you again, on a subject of such importance to every philanthropist, but dear to those who have had such frequent opportunities to study the character of the Indians, and to regret that he alone, among the Gentiles, has raised hitherto so little interest among the religious associations which have the conversion of the heathens for their object.

ROBERT H. SCHOMBURGH.

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Art. V.—LETTER FROM DR. PRICHARD TO DR. HODGKIN.

If an apology were needed for calling on science in aid of justice, to relieve the coloured races from oppression and utter ruin, the contents of the following letter, in which the cause of the Aborigines is ably advocated, both on christian and scientific grounds, will fully justify the appeal.

My Dear Friend,

I much regret that circumstances over which I have no control, will prevent me from attending the Anniversary Meeting of the Society for the protection of the Aborigines. I hardly need say to you that there is no undertaking of this comparatively enlightened, and as I trust it may be called, Christian age, which appears to me calculated to excite a deeper and more lively interest than this truly admirable attempt to preserve from utter ruin and extermination, many whole tribes and families of men, who, without such interference, are doomed to be swept away from the face of the earth. Certainly there is no undertaking of the present time, that has a stronger claim on humanity, and even on the justice of enlightened men. For what a stigma will be placed on Christian and



civilized nations, when it shall appear, that, by a selfish pursuit of their own advantage, they have destroyed and rooted out so many families and nations of their fellow creatures, and this, if not by actually murdering them, which indeed appears to be even now a practice very frequently pursued, by depriving them of the means of subsistence, and by tempting them to poison and ruin themselves. For such a work, when it shall have been accomplished, the only excuse or extenuation will be, just what the first murderer made for the slaughter of his brother, and we might almost be tempted to suppose, that the narrative was designed to be typical of the time when christianized Europeans shall have left on the earth no living relic of the numerous races who now inhabit distant regions ; but who will soon find their allotted doom if we proceed on the method of conduct thus far pursued, from the time of Pizarro and Cortez, to that of our English Colonists of South Africa. But independently of the claim of humanity and justice, which this admirable undertaking presents, there are numerous points of view in which it is particularly interesting to the philosopher, and to men devoted to the pursuit of science. How many problems of the most curious and interesting kind, will have been left unsolved, if the various races of mankind become diminished in number, and when the diversified tribes of America, Australia, and many parts of Asia, shall have ceased to exist ? At present we are but very imperfectly acquainted with the physiological character of many of these races, and the opportunity of obtaining a more accurate and satisfactory knowledge will have been for ever taken away. The physical history of mankind, certainly a most interesting branch of human knowledge, will have been left for ever imperfect, and but half explored. There are even many curious and interesting questions connected with philosophy of the human mind, which can only obtain a full elucidation by observing the various phases and different aspects which human nature presents, and by comparing the moral phenomena displayed in human action under all conditions, and in all the different branches and families of our race, and how can this study be pursued when half those branches shall have been lopped off and the whole stock occupied by engraftings from one single stem ? For instance, the Anti-Lockian system of innate principles, seems to have been almost established as matter of fact, by the remarkable analogy, and almost uniformity, which has been traced among nations the most widely separated, in sentiment and in belief and in some of the most recondite and mysterious phenomena of the human mind. If the moral philosopher pursues his study in his own closet, and deduces all his facts from men like himself, and formed under similar external conditions to similar habitudes of action and thought, all his theories will be hypothetical ; they will display to our view in every quarter the "idols of the cave." It is only by studying on a large view, the mind of many nations and races, and the moral character of mankind in all their different stages of development, that any sound philosophical theory on the nature of mental phenomena, and the elementary

principles of human action can be raised on sufficient extensive foundations. But more than one half or than three fourths of the great families of mankind, if we count their races, will have vanished from before our view in no long space of time if we do not interfere to protect them from the daily encroachments of the one more powerful tribe. The theory of language is again a subject which has excited the minds of celebrated philosophers. It may safely be asserted, that more light has been thrown upon this investigation, by philological researches, as to the actually existing languages of the so termed barbarous nations, than by all the crude speculations of metaphysical writers, or even of scholars, whose scope was limited to the classical languages of antiquity. Compare the posthumous work of the late Williem von Humboldt ; a magnificent work raised by a great philosopher on a most extensive field of inquiry, combining the fruits of comprehensive induction, with the jejune theories of Harris, of Monboddo, and even of Adam Smith, and you will be convinced how much more sound and philosophical are the results of actual inquiries into the facts which really exist or can be shown to exist, than any speculations as to what *may probably* have taken place under supposed circumstances. The great field in which these results have been obtained, was found principally among the barbarous or half-civilized nations of the East and of the West. But even the work of Humboldt is in some degree premature : a considerable part of it consists necessarily of anticipations, or of reasonings from facts as yet but imperfectly known ; and the opportunity of completing this inquiry and of perfecting a most interesting branch of human knowledge, will have been for ever lost, if entire races of men at present uncivilized and without self-defence, and with them, whole families of languages should be rooted out and lost, as they are certainly doomed to be, unless preserved by the intervention of this truly philanthropic Society. Believe me,

Ever yours, most sincerely,

Bristol, May 20, 1839.

J. PRICHARD.

#### Art. VI. THE APPOINTMENT OF THE FIRST PROTECTORS OF THE NATIVES OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

*Despatch from the Right Honourable Lord Glenelg, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the Governor of New South Wales, announcing the appointment of a Protector of Natives and four Assistants.*

Downing Street, 31st January, 1838.

SIR,—In transmitting to you a duplicate copy of the last Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on

Aborigines, I have the honour to communicate to you, that Her Majesty's Government have directed their anxious attention to the adoption of some plan, for the better protection and civilization of the Native Tribes within the limits of your government.

With that view, it has been resolved to appoint at once a small number of persons qualified to fill the office of Protector of Aborigines. I have confined that number, *in the first instance*, to one chief Protector, aided by four Assistant Protectors. I would propose that the Chief Protector should fix his principal station at Port Philip, as the most convenient point from whence he could traverse the surrounding country, and be in personal communication with his Assistants; two of whom should occupy the country to the northward and eastward, and the other two be stationed to the northward, and as far westward as the boundaries of the colony of South Australia.

I propose to confer the office of Chief Protector on Mr. Robinson, who, you are no doubt aware, has for some time past been in charge of the Aboriginal Establishment at Flinders' Island, and who has shown himself to be eminently qualified for such an office. I trust that Mr. Robinson may, under any circumstances, be induced to undertake the office. The gentlemen whose names are stated in the margin [Messrs. Sivewright, Thomas, Dredge, and Parker] have been chosen to fill the office of Assistant Protector.

With regard to the expenses attending the Establishment, it is proposed to assign to the Chief Protector a salary of £500 per annum, and to each of the Assistants £250.

The four officers proceeding from this country will also have an allowance of £100 each on account of their outfit and passage; and according to the general rule of this department, they have been informed that they will receive half salary from the date of embarkation.

It will also be necessary to make some provision to enable the Protectors to supply the Natives occasionally with moderate quantities of food and clothing.

It remains for me to explain my general view of the duties which will devolve on the Protectors, and to refer the points which will form the ground of instructions which you will issue to them.

1. Each Protector should attach himself as closely and constantly as possible to the Aboriginal Tribes, who may be found in the district for which he may be appointed; attending them if practicable in their movements from one place to another, until they can be induced to assume more settled habits of life, and endeavour to conciliate their respect and confidence, and to make them feel that he is their friend.

2. He must watch over the rights and interests of the natives, protect them, as far as he can by his personal exertions and influence, from any encroachment on their property, and from acts of cruelty, oppression, or injustice, and faithfully represent their wants, wishes, or grievances, if such representations be found necessary, through the Chief Protector, to the Government of the

Colony. For this purpose it will be desirable to invest each Protector with a Commission as magistrate.

3. If the natives can be induced in any considerable numbers to locate themselves in a particular place, it will be the object of the Protector to teach and encourage them to engage in the cultivation of their grounds, in building suitable habitations for themselves, and in whatever else may conduce to their civilization and social improvement.

4. The education and instruction of the children, as early and as extensively as it may be practicable, is to be regarded as a matter of primary importance.

5. In connection with the engagements, and as affording the most efficient means for the ultimate accomplishment of them, the Assistant Protector should promote, to the utmost extent of his ability and opportunities, the Moral and Religious improvement of the natives, by instructing them in the elements of the christian religion, and *preparing them for the reception of teachers*, whose peculiar province it would be to promote the knowledge and practice of Christianity among them.

6. In reference to every object contemplated by the proposed appointment, it is exceedingly desirable that the Protector should, as soon as possible, learn the language of the natives, so as to be able freely and familiarly to converse with them.

7. He must take charge of, and be accountable for, any provisions or clothing which may be placed under his care for distribution to the Natives.

8. He will obtain as accurate information as may be practicable of the number of the Natives within his district, and of all important particulars in regard to them.

These appear to me the principal points which demand attention in reference to this subject.

But it is of course not my intention to restrict you in the instructions which you will have to issue to the Protectors, within the topics on which I have touched, as your local knowledge and experience will doubtless enable you to supply omissions in the outline which I have given.

I have the honour to be, &c.,  
GLENELG.

#### Art. VII. NOTICE OF THOMAS PRINGLE.

*Late Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society; Author of African Sketches; and of Various Poems on African and other Subjects.*

THIS excellent and able man died in the year 1834, after having seen the triumph of a cause, the abolition of British Negro Slavery, to which he devoted many of the best years of his life, with a small pecuniary recompense. He was long also an energetic defender of the *free* coloured race, in a part of the world, *South Africa*, where this Society has recently seen such principles as



those which were strenuously advocated by him, obtain a signal victory in the respect paid by the British Government to the rights of the natives, and in the steady progress of general good order than has followed the change. He fought this battle when such men as he had little but hope, and their own sense of rectitude to cheer them; when to be the friend of the oppressed, exposed those men to the oppressor's hatred. In those days, as was remarkably evinced in Thomas Pringle's case, the whole weight of the colonial government, which should have been anxiously directed to protect the weak Aborigines, was but too often exerted to ruin their zealous friends and them together.

It is matter of no small regret, and some reproach, that, surviving as he did, the days of the persecutor of the black man, he received no personal vindication for his own sufferings; and none of those who knew him will hesitate to bear testimony to his various merits; to his worth as a man, and to the usefulness of his unwearyed life.

Public taste has pronounced with decisive favour upon the productions of his pen;\* and we venture to add our opinions in confirmation of the soundness of that judgment. There is a genuine charm both in the poetical and prose compositions of Thomas Pringle, which, we think, will secure for him a lasting reputation among the popular writers of his country.

But the gifts of genius were not his only possession. He had also all the kindly disposition which prompts men to dedicate their talents to relieve the feeble from oppression. True to his mission as a friend to the coloured races, his best writings brought the scenes of Africa vividly to the imagination of his readers; and by making many an African tribe familiarly and gracefully known to the world of letters, he raised a new and powerful interest in their cause, which needs sympathy from all classes, and support from every quarter. Stimulated by all the zeal that daily more and more warmly animates millions among us for the universal emancipation of the bondsman, and for the protection and improvement of the uncivilized races, he long bore an efficient part in the labours of their friends.

It is hoped that the reward which was unduly withheld from Thomas Pringle in his life time, may be granted to his surviving and dearest relative. The admirable qualities of an eminently good, and able, and useful man, should secure for that relative a suitable indemnity for the ills of fortune, to which his public spirit and disinterestedness exposed him, without the imputation of a single imprudence; or the reproach of a single act of misconduct.

\* It is a remarkable illustration of the literary and personal merits of Thomas Pringle, that his poems appeared in 1838, at the risk of the publisher, Mr. Moxon, with a biography written by a friend, Mr. L. Ritchie, for the benefit of the family; and the edition was sold in a very few months. A new edition has been recently published.

Art. VIII. REPORT OF A SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY OF ASYLUMS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, FOR DESTITUTE PEOPLE OF COLOUR. 1838.

It is matter of daily experience, that many people of colour when in this country, greatly need clothing, food, advice, medical attendance, instruction, employment, and means of returning home, which private benevolence cannot suitably afford them.

The evil has been felt in times past ; but no general system has been devised for a complete remedy, although strenuous efforts have been made to lessen it. For example, in 1814, the late Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Cardale, and others, took the case of the Lascars, an important class, into consideration ; and that case was carried into the House of Commons, by the present Lord Glenelg. (*Life of Wilberforce*, iv., p. 154.)

Sir Stamford Raffles also wrote warmly on one branch of the subject, *the contracts of coloured sailors*, upon the unhappy occasion of the execution of those who were long disgustingly jibbeted at Blackwall. Afterwards a sum of money was subscribed for Africans and Asiatics, which the late Mr. Macauley and Mr. Brooks, are understood to have distributed in pensions to deserving individuals.

The number of people of colour from all parts of the world, now in Great Britain and Ireland, may be inferred from the following statement which is believed to be below the full amount.

London . . . . .	300	
Portsmouth . . . . .	90	Chiefly sailors, many being pensioners.
Liverpool . . . . .	?	
Bristol . . . . .	?	

For the practical purpose of considering whether it be now proper to address the Government, in order that consideration may be had of the case of any portions of these people, it is not necessary to ascertain their exact numbers—the means of relief and instruction ought to be afforded, whatever that number may be ; and our commercial and territorial relations with their countries, furnish ample resources for their aid, out of the large profits of our trade\* with them ; and from the value of the lands before being improved with our capital.

It has been thought that a disposition to visit Europe, indicates in the savage a capacity for civilization. How extensively that disposition has been manifested by actual visits will be seen in the following catalogue.

- 1496. American Indians at the court of Henry VII.
- 1527. do. " " do. Henry VIII.
- 1594. The Indian Chief's daughter, Pocahontas, who saved Captain Smith, married an Englishman, and was presented to Queen Elizabeth.
- 1599. South American Indians brought home by Raleigh.
- 1712. The Mohawk Chiefs at the court of Queen Anne.
- 1732. The Georgia Chiefs, brought over by Governor Oglethorpe.
- 1756. The Indian Minister of the Gospel, Occum.

\* Our West African trade gives to the revenue £207,000 a year, and to the national industry £308,000 a year, clear gains.—*Mr. Foster's Letter to Lord Goderich*, 1832.

- 1772. The negro Somerset released by Granville Sharpe.
- 1779. Omai, the Tahitian.
- 1787. The elder Brant.
- 1790. Prince Lee Boo.
- 1794. Benelong from New South Wales.
- 1806. The Indian Norton.
- 1822. The younger Brant.

Other remarkable cases deserve to be mentioned more particularly.

1. When Sir John Ross was preparing to sail on his first expedition, he found an Esquimaux at Deptford, who had been induced to come hither *to see the people who sent out missionaries* to Greenland. This man became an invaluable interpreter to the expedition.

2. Not long since, three natives of Eastern Asia, who had found their way through all North America to Hudson's Bay, were sent to Japan or to some other eastern country by the company; the history of these men would be of the highest interest.

3. Two or three years ago, some Indians of North America were relieved from great oppressions and misery, by members of this Society; and few of the documents in our possession are more valuable or more affecting, than the letter lately received by Sir Augustus D'Este and Dr. Hodgkin from one of them, acknowledging the kindness shown his party by our friends.

4. When the New Zealand Association was formed last year, natives of that country were soon found in Europe capable of promoting the objects of that body. One was examined before the House of Lords, and his replies prove his talents.

5. The immediate motive for the suggestion, out of which this Report has sprung, was a conversation with the Secretary of the Geographical Society, Captain Washington, on the subject of means of relief for two West African families, now under that gentleman's protection.

6. An advertisement in the "Times" newspaper of late date, announces that a native of Dongola wishes to find employment in the service of any gentleman going overland to India.

7. A Hottentot of excellent character has long been known to many persons in London, and he has often had difficulty to find employment; he is now fixed comfortably with his wife, as steward to the Colonial Society, St. James' Street.

8. At the Committee of the House of Lords on New Zealand, Mr. Enderby, the South Sea ship-owner, stated that New Zealanders are frequently here in the whalers. They who are acquainted with the habits of the people who have most influence over seamen, on their arrival in our sea-ports, will readily conjecture what must often be the position of such persons in Wapping.

9. The Missionary Societies have always brought various coloured people to England with advantage.

10. A society of gentlemen are now educating a native of Sennaar, to send him to explore the Nile. In 1600, this system was proposed. (Bannister's British Colonization, p. 61.)

11. Lascars are at this moment wandering about London in great distress.

12. Since this inquiry was proposed, a considerable number of people of colour have been met with casually about London without employment and in distress.

Such cases might be multiplied to a volume, and the various motives which bring these people away might be enlarged upon with effect.

But the facts will not be disputed. Numbers come and their coming cannot be stopped. On the contrary, the present increase

of emigration will bring more and more of them hither ;\* the question then arises, can they be relieved and improved ?

In replying affirmatively to this question, it is not meant to recommend that their coming in future be *encouraged*. Whether or not such encouragement would be wise involves many considerations which are foreign to the present inquiry ; † the only light in which that encouragement seems fit to be taken notice of here is, in regard to the point whether the mode of relieving and improving the *casual* visitors, to be presently proposed will do more harm by indirect invitations to others to come to Europe, than good by the comfort and instruction it may afford to those *who come without public invitation*.

The relief of the latter will depend on the existence of funds, and on the possibility of establishing suitable asylums for them. 1st. As to funds. So long as the Custom House furnishes a revenue out of the productions of the countries of which these people are natives, those funds will not be wanting, and the new principle of disposing of colonial lands for a price instead of giving them away also furnishes the necessary funds.

2nd. As to the possibility of establishing suitable asylums for these people, there is greater difficulty.

It is conceived that such asylums must be of various kinds, and be fixed in various places, of which London, Liverpool, and one or two more ports should be at once selected for a beginning. They should be hospitals for the sick, and places of industry, employment, and instruction in letters and trades for the healthy.

It might be enough that in many individual cases a small payment should be made to some persons who now benevolently lodge the coloured race, without requiring them to come into the asylum.

Provision must be made for their return home at the earliest proper time, and by judicious management they might be prepared to act as civilizers to their countrymen.

The administration of this relief should be under the emigration agents at the out-ports, but with increase of pay ; and under an Aborigines department in London.

The system should be established by an act of Parliament, into which should be introduced clauses similar to those used in India, imposing specific liabilities on the owners and masters of ships, in which natives are brought from their homes.

The collateral advantages of assembling these people in this way together, are important ; their mutual acquaintance will produce good feeling among remote and varied races ; and these asylums, which might ultimately become colleges and schools of industry, would at once furnish linguists for many foreign expeditions.

\* In five years after the peace, the number of emigrants was 5000 a year. In seven years ending 1831, it was 20,000 yearly. In the seven years ending 1837, it was 70,000 yearly. It is calculated that in 1838, 7000 will go to New South Wales alone.—House of Commons' Papers, 1838. Emigration Com. Trans. Rep. † The topic of *bringing* coloured people to England, for instruction, is discussed in the Society's second report, p. 23.



EXTRACTS  
FROM THE  
PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

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No. III.  
JULY, 1839.

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LONDON :  
WILLIAM BALL, ARNOLD, AND Co.  
34, PATERNOSTER ROW.

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1839.



ART. I.—LETTER FROM THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq. TO THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Esq., ON BECOMING AN HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

Playford Hall, July 26, 1839.

My dear friend,

As soon as I understood that an Aborigines Society was formed, from that moment my heart became warm in its favour; and last year I sent a subscription to it. It is most painful to think that wherever men, calling themselves Christians, have come into contact with uncivilized tribes, instead of bringing with them "peace and good-will," they have in general used their superior knowledge to take advantage of the ignorance of these strangers, and to carry a sword among them. It is the business of your Society to put an end, as far as it can, to practices so flagitious and derogatory to the Christian name. It is, therefore, from this view of the subject that I shall consider it an honour to be admitted an honorary member of your Society, and to promote its interests. I wish I could see, and I wish I had health, to dwell longer on this interesting subject. May God, who regards all his creatures with the same fatherly eye, however low and poor their condition, prosper your endeavours. You will be pleased to inform Mr. Freeman and Mr. Tredgold, that you have received this letter from me.

I am, my dear friend,

Your's affectionately,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq.

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ART. II.—EVIDENCE OF ABORIGINES WITHOUT OATH.

The first article in Extracts No. 1, contained an intimation that the Society had prepared a Bill to be brought into Parliament by some of its members, to enable certain Aborigines to give evidence without oath.

The Committee have continued to pay attention to this most important subject; but after much deliberate examination of the case, it has been deemed expedient for the present not to press for a Bill in Parliament, but to commit the business into the hands of the Colonial Office, where a promise has been made that measures shall forthwith be adopted to meet the case, through the medium of the local Governments. The Sub-committee will continue to watch the progress of those measures. In the meantime, the Committee have felt confirmed in their views of the necessity of early steps being taken on this subject, to secure the cause of justice as well as humanity.

The Report of the Rev. L. E. Threlkeld, on the state of the Mission to the Aborigines at Lake Macquaire, New South Wales, addressed to the Right Honourable the Colonial Secretary of State, &c. &c. &c.

During this year one case only has arisen for trial in the Supreme Court, the which I attended as interpreter. Wombarty, an Aborigine belonging to the interior, near Port Macquaire, was charged with being concerned in the murder of four Europeans. The Court humanely appointed counsel for the prisoner, and I visited the culprit in gaol, to ascertain his defence. The dialect spoken by him being different, I could only elicit through the means of my assistant black, M'Gill, and he communicated partly through another black belonging to Port Macquaire, who was under confinement at the time. It appeared from his disclosure that the murder was committed by a strange tribe, which he named, he looking on, in revenge for two blacks who were confined in a lock-up house, charged with spearing and slaughtering cattle; that the tribes were collecting for the purpose of further retaliation on the whites, but that he only partook of the spoil. His Excellency the Governor was immediately apprized of the movements likely to take place in that district, that means might be adopted to secure the lives of the unprotected. We thus ascertained the committal of a dreadful murder by the parties named, elicited the occasion of such a murder, and discovered designs for further atrocities; but when the same means of interpreting were tendered in open court, the black could not be sworn with myself as assistant interpreter, and ultimately the prisoner was discharged. Thus that just and equitable principle which declares that "the Aborigines are subject to and under the protection of British laws" becomes a mere legal fiction in consequence of means not being duly provided to meet the case and afford legal protection to its subjects in its own courts; and thus the strictness of the administration of the law becomes the height of injustice to all. It cannot be denied, that our circumstances as a civilized people, in connexion with these aboriginal barbarians, were never contemplated by the British constitution; but it remains to be ascertained whether this age of intellect will provide a suitable remedy in some specific enactment, or suffer year after year the Aborigines to be frittered away from the land by private vengeance for injuries publicly sustained; which injuries the Executive at present cannot punish but by the horrors of martial law! Surely it is a matter worthy the prompt attention of legislators belonging to a professed Christian nation, lest there be found "those who shed innocent blood," and our "heavens become brass and our earth iron, and the rain of our land be made powder and dust" through the voice of a brother's blood crying aloud for vengeance unto God. The very weakness of the blacks forms, to noble minds, the strongest appeal to justice; nor should equity forget the price of the land of their birth, which fills the coffers of our Exchequer with gold, exalts Britain amongst the nations, and establishes her colonies on the destruction of the native inhabitants thereof,



and thus presents a powerful claim to the tender sympathies of our Christian charities; whilst the certainty of legal punishment to the guilty would save the innocent, "be a terror to evil-doers," and ultimately prevent the increase of crime. Under present circumstances the guilty escape, and humane judges can only announce the law as it exists; which bars the door of equity against the blacks, and leaves them to public vengeance or to the private revenge of injured Europeans, which, steady to its purpose, will surely, secretly, and speedily, annihilate the Aborigines from the face of this land.

### Art. III. DECREASE OF THE BLACK POPULATION IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

An Abstract from the Official General Returns of the black natives, taken at the annual distribution of the Government donation of blankets to each tribe within the four divisions of the colony, for the years 1835, 1836, and 1837.

	Men,	Women,	& Child.en.
1. South and south-western district, from Sydney to Two-fold Bay inclusive—5 returns . . . . .			422
2. Western district, Bathurst, Wellington Valley—1 return			127
3. North and north-western district, from Sydney to Port Macquaire inclusive—10 returns . . . . .			1220
4. Home district, Sydney and Windsor inclusive—8 returns			325

Sum total of 24 returns in 1835—Individuals 2094

	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
1835. Description of persons from 24 returns	904	681	291	217	2093
1836. Do. from 15 do.	727	461	225	169	1582
1837. Do. from 16 do.	735	454	195	147	1531

#### Proportion of Sexes, including Children.

1835. Of 2093 persons there were 75 females to 100 males.
1836. Of 1582 do. 66 do. to 100 do.
1837. Of 1531 do. 64 do. to 100 do.

Decrease of females in 2 years, 15 per cent.

	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
From 11* returns of the most populous districts, there were in 1835 . . . . .	535	405	196	136	1272
From the same 11 districts in 1837 . . . . .	538	343	154	120	1153

Decrease in two years . . . . . 62 42 16 117

#### Number of Adult Males of the supposed ages. (The Women's are not returned.)

1835. Of 850 adult males from 24 returns, there were								
	10 yrs. to 20.	20 to 30.	30 to 40.	40 to 50.	50 to 60.	60 to 70.	70 to 80.	
	{ 99	318	249	100	63	21	—	
1836. Of 630 do. from 15 returns	{ 74	261	211	86	39	11	—	
1837. Of 702 do. from 16 returns	{ 129	253	193	65	49	10	3	

\* The Returns not being complete sets, only 11 were found to correspond for the years 1835 and 1837.

REMARKS BY THE REV. L. E. THRELKELD, ON THE ABOVE  
DECREASE OF POPULATION.

In accounting for the very great decrease in the black population, it unhappily occurs, that the very means used by many to express their kindly feelings towards the Aborigines, tends to their destruction, namely, supplying their wants with ardent spirits, as the wages most acceptable for any little service which they are often required to perform. Thus a thirst is created for more; they are then urged on to maddening intoxication, the besetting sin of this colony, too often to the loss of human life. A determination, from the formation of this mission, not to adopt the prevalent practice, may be assigned as a potent reason why the Missionary Establishment is least likely to become the favourite resort of the misguided Aborigines in their pagan state—divine authority forbidding to “do evil that good may come.” The mortifying circumstance of the frequent desertion of the few Aborigines left alive from this station must be borne with patience in the exercise of just and conscientious principles. We *are* responsible for the means we employ; we are *not* for success. Another cause of decrease among the tribes may be traced to the swelling tide of emigration, which has universally swallowed up the petty streams of barbarism, and the Aborigines have generally been either driven back to the forests by force of arms, or have become amalgamated with the overpowering people who thus “multiply, replenish, and subdue the earth.” In this colony local circumstances have occasioned the total destruction of the blacks within its limits to be less rapid, but not less ultimately certain than when martial force has been employed. The un-matrimonial state of the thousands of male prisoners scattered throughout the country amidst females, though of another colour, leads them, by force, fraud, or bribery, to withdraw the aboriginal women from their own proper mates; and disease and death are the usual consequences of such proceedings. The official return from one district gives only *two women* to 28 men, 2 boys, and no girls. The continued ill treatment and frequent slaughter of the black women can only be deplored, perhaps without remedy. One black of the number sentenced to work in irons at Goat Island, had previously shot several females, and chopped in pieces others with his tomahawk. On his return from confinement he joined his tribe, sat with them around a fire in the bush, seized a woman, was about to despatch her, when a black started up and cleft his skull with a hatchet, whilst another was buried in his heart. Frequently have I noticed, in the retributions which have taken place amongst the Aborigines, the fulfilment of that Divine decree which declares, “Your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every man’s brother will I require the life of man.” Of the surviving culprits, it is pleasing and not irrelative to state, that no depredations have been committed by them on Europeans since their release from irons in Goat Island; for which release they are indebted to the humane consideration of His Excellency the Governor, Sir

Richard Bourke. The severity of their punishment, which necessity required, was such to them that several of them died whilst under confinement on the island.

The last but not the least cause to mention, as occasioning the rapid diminution of the Aborigines of this territory, is far above the control of mortal man, and not confined to the limits of the colony. He who "increaseth the nation," or "destroys, that there shall be no inhabitants" has visited the land, and the measles, the hooping cough, and the influenza, have stretched the black victims in hundreds on the earth, until in some places scarcely a tribe can be found. Of one large tribe in the interior, four years since there were 164 persons; there are now only three individuals alive! Many suffered from the ire of human vengeance, for alleged acts of aggression, but the most died by the act of God. At our former residence on the Lake, upwards of 60 blacks lay mouldering into dust, of whom many were destroyed by the effects of licentiousness, but more by the epidemic of the time.

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#### Art. IV. INDIANS OF BRITISH GUIANA.

*Extract of a Letter from John Scoble, Esq. to T. F. Buxton, Esq., dated Demerara, 1st June, 1839.*

My object in writing now is to direct your attention to the Indians in the colony, with a view to the amelioration of their condition. The Arrawaaks, the Acawais, the Carabixe, the Maraws, and the Macusies, are the principal tribes which inhabit British Guiana. Most of them are in a state of nature, unclothed and uncultivated, wandering hither and thither, as their necessities or their caprice directs them. Their languages are difficult—they do not intermarry, and have rarely any intercourse with each other of a friendly nature. Those of them who reside nearest the cultivated parts of the colony have been much injured by their intercourse with the whites. They are inordinately fond of ardent spirits, and this places them entirely within the power of those who would make a gain of them. Though short in stature they are a fine race of people; and from my intercourse with them I know them to be intelligent and anxious for improvement.

The entire number of the various tribes now in this colony is computed to be about 25,000; but from all I can learn, I much fear that they are rapidly decreasing. Until a very recent period, as far as I am informed, the Indians were at liberty to settle on Crown Lands for purposes of hunting and fishing, of cultivating the soil, and of cutting timber. In fact, the "Ordinance appointing Superintendents of the rivers and creeks of British Guiana," which was designed to prevent the negroes from squatting on such lands, contains several clauses which specially exempt them from its operation in that particular. The Combined Court, however, passed a Tax Ordinance during its late Session, which requires that a certain sum shall be levied on "Craft of all descriptions"

for the increase of the public revenue ; and as no special exemption was made in favour of the Indians, their corials, of course, became liable to this tax. In a recent "Government notice" issued by the Governor, in reference to the sale and occupation of Crown Lands, it is laid down as a rule that Crown Lands will not in future be sold in lots of less than 100 acres, at an upset price of one pound sterling per acre ; that "wood-cutting licences" can be had at a rental of from sixpence to eightpence sterling per acre, on application to the Governor, and the payment of fees which amount to thirty-six dollars ; and that, "without authority thus had and obtained, *no person or persons* shall hereafter be permitted on *any pretext whatever*, to reside, work, or cut timber or other materials upon, or otherwise occupy any of the lands belonging to the Crown—such as are already in possession of grants or licences duly registered excepted—all other temporary permission for so doing, whether verbal or in writing, being hereby cancelled and annulled." Now it strikes me that the Indians will be affected by these regulations, as no exemptions are made in their case ; and that under them they may be greatly harassed and oppressed,—and thus, what with the tax on their craft, the restrictions laid upon the occupancy of Crown Lands, and their not being permitted to locate themselves on lands in the possession of the colonists without performing labour thereon for the benefit of the possessors or occupiers, the Indians are deprived not only of their original rights as lords of the soil, but of the privileges they have heretofore enjoyed under the British Crown. I am convinced that on principles of sound policy, as well as justice and humanity, the Home Government would rather cherish than injure, would rather protect than destroy, the remnant of those tribes who once called this country their own. I feel confident, therefore, that the Government will, on a proper representation of the subject being made, remove all doubts upon these points, and direct the Executive here, that whatever rights and privileges the Indian tribes have heretofore enjoyed shall be continued to them. They were few enough, and ought not to be curtailed.

On the great question as to the best means of forming the Indian tribes into settled communities, and of advancing them in civilization, and the knowledge of useful arts, I have but one answer—send the gospel among them in its simplest and purest form. This, under the promised blessing of God, will accomplish it. How has my heart been gladdened by what I have seen on the banks of the Essequibo ! In the year 1836 I visited the Indian Station at Caria Caria, and had the happiness to enjoy Christian intercourse with above sixty converted natives of the Arrawaak nation. They were the fruits of the labours of a zealous and disinterested individual, a Mr. Peters, a black man. This worthy man had gone from creek to creek, preaching the gospel to these children of the forest, and in a period of less than six years the number above mentioned, were united together in Christian fellowship, were married and baptized with their offspring,—had erected themselves, at



their own cost and expense in money and labour, a neat chapel, in the midst of their native woods, capable of containing 250 people; and were longing to obtain a Christian teacher for their children, who should instruct them in the "white man's knowledge." During my present visit to this colony, I have again visited this highly interesting people, and find that there has been a considerable accession to their numbers—that their chapel has been enlarged, and that they now wish above all things to be formed into a community in some suitable locality where they can have sufficient room, and enjoy protection under the direction of some one in whom they can place confidence, and who would direct them in so important a matter. Until this be done they feel it will be impossible for them to make much progress as a people, or to get their children properly educated. In addition to the station at Caria Caria, there is another Christian station now formed on the banks of the Lussenaam Creek, for the benefit of the Indians residing in that quarter. There they have also built a chapel, capable of containing 150 persons; and there, about forty to fifty Arrawaaks meet for divine worship on the Sabbath-day, and are joined by many negroes in that quarter. I should have observed also that many negroes are united with the Indians at Caria Caria, and that they live together in peace and harmony, though they were once hostile to each other.

It is delightful to witness the influence of Christianity on these people. Go among them when you will, you will always find them clothed; and on the Sabbath-days the neatness and taste with which they attire themselves is remarkable. Before the morning sun has risen, you hear the voice of prayer from their different huts, and at eventide the same. Their language is very musical and soft.

Polygamy is abandoned among them. Every man now has his own wife—and every wife her own husband. The women are no longer treated as slaves, but as companions. The spirit of caste is destroyed—the Arrawaak will now sit down with the Carabixé and the Negro, and will intermarry with either, provided they be Christians. Their anxiety to form settlements is great, but they must be assisted in this matter. They want schools, but none but the most devoted men must come among them.

I have no doubt that could a single settlement be formed on right principles, it would prove a centre of attraction to all the Arrawaak natives; and that they would be easily drawn to it from every part of the colony; and I have as little doubt that other nations would be induced to follow their example.

I was much affected when up the Essequibo the other day, to learn that some Indians residing on the banks of the Mazaroonny River had sent a message to Caria Caria, to this effect, that they could not conceive why the Arrawaaks should be taught and instructed in religion, and they be neglected; and that they were much hurt that they were overlooked—and begged that a teacher would come among them. "The harvest truly is ripe, but the labourers

are few." At Caria Caria, and Luperaam, there are not less than 150 Indian children who need instruction.

The Macusies are an interesting people. Two gentlemen in connexion with the Church Missionary Society, are labouring among them.

I very much regret that the Brazilians have made several incursions into British Guiana, for the purpose of carrying off the Indians to reduce them to a state of slavery in the mining districts of Brazil. Some Indians, it is well known, have been captured and carried off—how many cannot be ascertained. This is a deplorable fact. The Governor is, I believe, in possession of particulars on the subject—and perhaps has transmitted them home.\* Would it not be well to apply to the Marquis of Normanby to ascertain the fact?

I may just mention that the Christian Indians have often complained of the robberies perpetrated on them by the whites. The last time I was up the Essequibo one of them had his corial taken from him. I proceeded at once to the house of the party who had possession of the corial; and by threatening him with a prosecution for robbery, recovered it for the Indian. When they come to town to sell the articles they manufacture, they frequently get robbed. A few days since I made two persons in Georgetown restore articles they had thus stolen from two Indian women.

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Art. V. MEMORIAL TO LORD GLENELG, RESPECTING THE IMMIGRATION OF THE BOORS INTO THE COUNTRY BEYOND THE FRONTIERS OF THE COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, SOUTH AFRICA.

The attention of the Committee has repeatedly been turned to the South African boors who have thrown off their allegiance to this country, and entered the territories of our allies.

These boors have committed the most dreadful havoc amongst the tribes of Zoolahs, and rendered their speedy extermination almost certain, unless a prompt check be given to their incursions. As stated in the last annual report, a communication on the subject was made by the Committee to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The following is a copy of the memorial then presented,

*To the Right Honourable Lord Glenelg, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, &c. &c. &c.*

The Memorial of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, relative to the depredations and slaughter committed by a body of emigrating Boors, upon the Aborigines beyond the Frontiers of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa.

\* See, on this subject, the letter of R. H. Schomburgh, in the last No. of Extracts, p. 52, which fully confirms this assertion. Were the Aborigines of our colonies regarded as British subjects, as they unquestionably ought to be, they would be protected, and these aggressions would not be tolerated.

The Committee beg most respectfully and cordially to convey to your Lordship their sense of the ready attention with which you were pleased to receive a deputation recently appointed by them to plead with your Lordship for those native tribes beyond the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, who are falling the victims of atrocities perpetrated by a large body of armed boors, British subjects who have recently left that colony.

Encouraged by your Lordship's clearly avowed sympathy with their feelings, the Committee cannot but express their great astonishment that the Colonial Government should have tacitly permitted so large an armed force to pass the boundaries of the colony, *in direct violation of the law*, and with the publicly announced object of forming a separate and independent state, which it is manifest could not be founded without fraud and violence in the territories of tribes, either our allies by treaty, or with whom we are in friendly relation: thus giving those tribes justifiable cause for attacking the colony, and in every way endangering its peace and welfare.

From information collected from different sources, it would appear that emigrant boors, after menacing and committing acts of aggression on the frontier native tribes, entered the territories of Umsiliga, or Mozilikatzi, a powerful and warlike Zoolah chief, by a forbidden route, in a manner they knew would excite his hostility and inevitably lead to the sanguinary engagements which ensued. This chief had, on the 3rd March, 1836, through his embassy then in Cape Town, entered into a treaty of friendly alliance with the Governor of the Cape colony.

They invaded by night an innocent kraal, and as the Zoolahs emerged from their huts at dawn of day, the boors massacred them in great numbers. Two American missionaries were obliged to relinquish this promising field of usefulness, because there remained none among whom to labour.

The armed emigrants then proceeded in a strong body to dictate their own terms to Mozilikatzi, threatening, should he decline them, to subvert his power.

Mozilikatzi was subsequently driven an outcast from his territory, and his people are now dispersed or destroyed.

They treacherously seized upon and fettered the person of Sikon Yella, a Mantatee chief, who confided in their profession of friendship. This chief had previously evinced an earnest desire to be on friendly terms with the Colonial Government.

Violence, robbery, and bloodshed, marked their course through all these proceedings. They destroyed many native villages, carried off much cattle, and took numerous children captives.

They then moved towards the territory of Dingaan, for the purpose of forming a settlement near Port Natal. Dingaan, while in apparent friendship with them, alarmed at their threats and menacing attitude, attacked them at night, and, it is stated, destroyed 274 persons with Retief at their head, and about 46 of another party. The next day the boors retaliated, and 200 Zoolahs were shot and some colonial cattle recovered.

Many armed parties, including some natives and the English settlers at Port Natal, were in full pursuit of Dingaan, though he had a standing army of 15,000 well-appointed soldiers. Later accounts report that the emigrants and their associates had attacked Dingaan and captured 500 women, with 4 or 5000 head of cattle.

The agents of the Church and American Missionary Societies, with Captain and Mrs. Gardner, had fled from Port Natal for their lives.

Gunpowder, muskets, and brandy were being shipped to Port Natal for the boors, and emigration was proceeding more wildly than ever.

The emigrants are now *widely* encamped in Dingaan's territory, and include about 5000 souls, of whom 1400 are armed; others just emigrated to their assistance are variously stated at "400 armed men," "4000 boors," "10,000 men, women, and children on their way, and 10,000 more to follow."

They have renounced their allegiance to the British crown, declared themselves independent, expressed their determination to resist any force sent against them, and have thus set a most injurious example to other colonists.

They have kidnapped the slave apprentices, and forced them away, after disposing of their compensation claims.

They have denounced Waterboer, the civilized chief of Griqualand, the steady friend and valuable ally of Her Majesty's Government.

The Committee will not trespass on your Lordship's valuable time, by attempting to estimate the amount of evils and of suffering which must result from such deplorable acts. Whilst on the one hand these mournful events are creating great misery and suffering to the parties immediately concerned, and are leading to the ultimate *extermination* of the aboriginal tribes, on the other they are bringing distress and ruin on thousands of British subjects, and obviously tend to injure British character and authority in all that vast region.

In searching for effectual remedies for these calamitous occurrences, the Committee considered it their duty to ascertain, amidst conflicting statements, what were the real *causes* of an emigration frequently meditated, but never organized and executed on so extensive a scale, until about the Month of May, 1835, since which period it has been rapidly proceeding.

It appears many families have for a long period been permitted to settle beyond the frontier, without due authority, and free from all observation or control of the Colonial Government.

The settlers on and near the frontiers, within the colony, have been kept in constant fear of invasion, and these fears have been systematically exaggerated by the disaffected, who predicted new wars and fresh sacrifices, the certain sources of ruin to their families.

The just system of frontier policy, emanating from your Lordship, and commenced in its practical working by the Lieutenant-Governor, has been denounced by certain colonial newspapers, which



have long published false and perverted accounts of Caffre commotion, thefts, and murders.

The late Government failed to correct this system of false alarm, which might have been done by regularly publishing official reports of all offences committed on the frontier.

The sacrifices and sufferings of these settlers on the frontier within the colony, in being compelled to serve on commandoes, as well as in time of war, and the sanction given by the Colonial Government to that vicious system, have created disgust and dissatisfaction. They have sustained great losses in these expeditions by their compulsory personal exertions, forced contributions, and long absence from their homes. They are in many cases ruined by the working of the late system adopted on the frontiers, sanctioned and urged on them by the Colonial Government, the military, and the frontier boors, although deprecated by many of the respectable farmers in other parts of the colony.

The 20,000 head of cattle said by Sir B. d'Urban to have been taken in reprisal during the last war, were never shared by those boors who had actually lost their own cattle; but those which were not consumed by the troops have not yet been accounted for.

Considerable dissatisfaction has also been expressed at the mode of paying the Slavery Abolition claims. The slave proprietors not having had sufficiently correct information given them has laid them open to enormous impositions. They have been imposed on by designing men, who have aggravated their disaffection by constantly inveighing against the Government, and have thus induced the boors to sell their lands and properties at a ruinous loss.

Additional motives for this general emigration are to be found in their long-cherished habits of wandering from place to place, feeding their herds in the rich pasturage and beautiful country which they have now systematically invaded—and in the desire too common among slave masters to be free from the restraints of law.

If the adoption of a new line of policy, and the suppression of the commando system, had been the only causes of the late emigration, as asserted by some, or if the character of the border tribes was so formidable as has been represented, really endangering their security while remaining in the frontiers, is it credible that the boors would have committed themselves and their all into the very heart of the enemy's country?

Presuming on the truth of the above statement, the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society consider that while the emigrants have suffered from past misgovernment, and deserve commiseration and redress, *far greater pity and more immediately active interference are demanded by those aboriginal tribes upon which the armed boors have inflicted and are inflicting such an awful amount of injustice and suffering.*

The Committee approach the question of remedying these evils with great diffidence, fully appreciating the numerous difficulties by which it is surrounded, and feeling that they can confidently rely on your Lordship's wisdom and knowledge of the causes of

this extensive emigration, to remove the evils; yet, invited by your Lordship's polite intimation, and firmly convinced that the elevation of neighbouring tribes to the enjoyment of their rights as members of the human family, and a participation in the blessings of the Gospel, will best promote the real prosperity of our colonies, they venture to inquire what Government can do to protect the native tribes of South Africa.

The existing laws, forbidding persons to pass the land boundaries of the colony without a *license*, should be rigidly enforced.

Simple and clearly-defined *treaties* should be formed with the chiefs and councils of surrounding tribes, to encourage peace and justice between them and the colonists of every class, and to discourage the settling of any emigrants from our colony.

The most important measures for remedying the present evils, and for the prevention of similar occurrences in future, are those which relate to the elevation of the native tribes, and the increase and combination of their power to a degree which may enable them to maintain themselves against foreign aggression, to command the respect of their rights, and to keep pace with their white neighbours in the march of improvement.

Of these the first seems to be the formation, under the auspices of the British Government, of a general union or pacific confederation of the Caffre and Zoolah tribes, for the purpose of settling by amicable arrangement all matters affecting the tribes themselves and their relations with the British colony. Every reasonable assistance should be rendered to the organization of this union, both in suggesting the details and in nominating the individuals required to take office in it. Our influence would then be secured, and our peace with the natives rendered more certain, whilst aggressions on our allies would be checked or arrested by the most effectual concert with the British authorities.

The first object to be recommended to this confederation would be, the distinct definition of the boundaries of particular tribes, and the making such subdivisions within the territories of each tribe as may be required for the management of its civil affairs; such as the suppression and punishment of offences, the planning and execution of local improvements, and the promotion of instruction; and still further subdivision should be made for securing individual possession.

The advancement of our native neighbours, and the consequent increase of respect and consideration which they would on all hands receive, would be greatly promoted by the elevation of the coloured class within the colony; and this might be promptly effected by making them feel the full benefits of equal participation in the rights of British subjects, and by the careful selection and judicious patronage of such individuals amongst them as may exhibit superior worth and ability.

The Committee presume that your Lordship will be aware of the importance of the immediate temporary occupation of Port Natal by the British Government, in order to protect such colonists

as may be willing to return, or to prevent war or the seizure of the country by the emigrants. All trade with Port Natal in arms and ammunition should, for the present, be strictly prohibited:

With respect to the large body of boors who have unhappily been allowed to proceed so far in the execution of their blood-stained projects, it seems that policy and Christian principle alike recommend the proposal of the most favourable and conciliatory terms consistently with the dignity and authority of the British and Local Governments—terms which may, if possible, have the effect of inducing the majority of the boors to return to the colony and to their allegiance.

The terms to be offered, the mode of offering them, and the penalties on non-acceptance, must be left to the colonial authorities; but the most important point, viz. the mode of disposing of the recusants, should not be lost sight of; for whether they be established as a hostile colony, or be dispersed among the natives, they will inflict great injury both on the Cape colony and the Aborigines.

To prevent or check further emigration, the just claims for compensation made by such as have actually suffered by the late Caffre invasion, should be met by the Government promptly, and in such a manner as may appear most suitable and best calculated to restore prosperity and good feeling.

Real grievances, occasioned by the past supineness of the colonial authorities, should be redressed.

Wise plans of education and religious instruction, with able and efficient agents, should be put in operation.

The utmost official publicity should be given to all matter of frontier occurrence. This measure would in itself strongly tend to maintain order on the frontiers, by allaying the groundless fears of the frontier inhabitants.

Finally, the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society rejoice in the prospect of an united and active Government at the Cape of Good Hope, zealously disposed to carry into effective operation your Lordship's humane and enlightened views. Let but the just and able measures so happily instituted by your Lordship, and acted upon amid immense obloquy and opposition by the Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom, be fairly and benevolently pursued; let good laws be executed by unprejudiced and right-minded men—men of peace; and let all such receive the animating *sanction and support* of Her Most Gracious Majesty; and the Committee of this Society confidently expect that a new era will dawn both on the colony itself, and on the long-injured African races around, on behalf of whom this Memorial is presented.

When Christianity, and the arts of civilized life, and the organization of a Government extending to those under its control a *bona fide* participation in the security of British subjects, shall be established on a firm basis, then and not till then, may the influx of white settlers beyond the colony be safely permitted, to relieve the redundant population of Great Britain and Ireland. Then that



rich and fertile country which now supplies our traders with ivory and hides, will yield a vast variety of valuable produce, to be exchanged for an unlimited amount of British manufactures.

That such may be the course of policy, not merely approved, but vigorously and successfully adopted by the present Government of this country, is the sincere and ardent wish of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society.

On behalf of the Committee,

Signed,                    J. J. FREEMAN,                    Honorary Secretaries.  
                                  J. H. TREDGOLD,

4, Blomfield Street, 7 August, 1838.

It has been objected against the preceding memorial, that its object and its tendency, if it were listened to, would be to put a bar against the justifiable extension of our colonies and settlements. Such has not been the design of the memorialists. They felt persuaded, and continue to maintain the opinion, that, without checking the course of emigration as the legitimate means of relieving the redundant population of civilized countries, it is the bounden duty of those who emigrate, and of the Government whose subjects they may be, to take effectual care that they do not violate the rights of those who are already in possession of the territories which they seek to occupy. The authors of the memorial cannot believe that to the interests of one single branch of the human family all other branches must be sacrificed; and at the same time they cannot conceal from themselves the appalling fact, that in not one solitary instance in which their countrymen have colonised themselves, have they protected the pre-occupant inhabitants from the wasting influence of aggravated degradation and misery. They felt, therefore, constrained to urge the executive Government to adopt a course intermediate to that of leaving the Zoolahs as an independent people to defend themselves, which they are physically unable to do, and the alternative of assuming the sovereignty of the country—a measure which has been strongly advocated on the ground of humanity to the natives, and which, with the exception of the principle which it involves, admits of much being said in its favour, provided the execution were properly managed. The outlines of such a course it is conceived are contained in the memorial. Over the confederate chiefs, organized and leagued together under British sanction and direction, our Government would exert a legitimate, powerful, and growing influence. The civil changes which might be thus very quickly introduced seem to be the essential counterparts to those important changes in religion and morals which the blessed labours of the most successful missionaries have effected by their conversion to Christianity. There is strong reason to believe that the native chiefs, who possess far more intelligence than they have generally credit for, might readily be brought to comprehend and embrace this system of organization under British protection and authority, provided its objects were properly explained to them,



and they were permitted to feel that our conduct towards them was such as to inspire their confidence and affection, instead of the uncertainty and dread which a long succession of vacillation and cruelty could not fail to produce. Thus the colonial department of the Government would become what it ought to be—the pioneer to emigration mutually advantageous to Aborigines and colonists.

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**Art. VI. ADDRESS TO THE RIGHT HON. MARQUIS OF NORMANBY ON HIS ACCESSION TO OFFICE.**

To the Marquis of Normanby, Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Aborigines Protection Society, feel it to be a duty which they owe to the Marquis of Normanby, as well as to their constituents, and to the momentous cause itself in which they are engaged, to offer him their respectful address on the occasion of his entering upon an office which places at his disposal the means of either crowning that cause with success, or covering it with gloom.

But the Committee are rejoiced in the consideration that they are addressing a nobleman who has given ample proofs of his willingness and ability to stand between the oppressor and the oppressed, and to vindicate the cause of the injured though weaker party.

The Committee will not attempt to describe the multiplied wrongs which have been inflicted upon every inhabited portion of the globe colonised by British subjects. The history of our colonies is, without a single exception, replete with details confirmatory of this assertion.

Humanity has been shown by individuals; justice and kindness have been recommended from the throne; but the destructive effects which have attended British colonisation, and British commerce, have in no degree been arrested. It cannot be that destruction and injustice are the inseparable and essential attributes of our countrymen when engaged in the laudable undertakings of colonisation and commerce.

The Committee are far from craving that injurious restrictions should be placed on these two important elements of British influence and prosperity; but, whilst commerce and emigration are extending themselves over the surface of the globe, the unchecked advances of the old and homicidal systems of intercourse with uncivilized races, are effecting their extermination with accelerating rapidity.

The Aborigines Protection Society was formed for the purpose of collecting and diffusing information respecting this stupendous evil, with the hope, that by bringing facts under the notice of their countrymen, and by pleading with the Executive portion of the Government, the progress of the wrongs which they deplored might

be arrested, and a system introduced as consistent with the prosperity, as conducive to the honour of Great Britain.

In pursuing this object, the Society is very far from desiring to embarrass the colonial department with needless or frequent expostulations : and the Committee on the present occasion would assure the Marquis of Normanby that it is their anxious wish to call his attention to no case which may not be worthy of his consideration, and to solicit the execution of no act which may not unite practicability with expediency and honour.

Although fully sensible of the great difficulty inseparable from any attempt to place the comparatively feeble inhabitants of an uncivilized country in a state of security against the various aggressions of colonists rapidly increasing by an active emigration, and whose superior knowledge and resources give them every facility to injure the Aborigines, yet the Committee are induced confidently to hope, that when, in addition to the exertions of the Government authorities to suppress acts, really criminal measures hitherto neglected shall be efficiently adopted to give rights to the natives, and to make them sensible of the value of these rights, they will not only become competent to secure themselves with comparatively little assistance from the British Government, but will repay its fostering and parental care by proving themselves a most useful and profitable class of subjects.

The measures to which the Committee here particularly allude are, the recognition of the natives' title to the soil, and the perfect and unequivocal security of an ample portion of land to them and their descendants. The admission of their evidence in courts of law, and of their votes in common with those of other colonists ; and a full participation in every privilege which British subjects in the respective colonies may possess. The promotion of the arts of civilized life, and of intellectual cultivation amongst the natives, and in an especial manner, the adoption of a specific system for the encouragement of the most talented, by defraying the expense of their education in the best colonial schools, and by bringing the most promising and accomplished amongst them to this country. Thus they may be not only prepared to appreciate the importance of those acquirements which it is desirable they should introduce amongst their countrymen—but they will be fitted to become the most efficient and zealous, as well as the most legitimate advocates of their own cause, when acts of oppression may call for redress.

In those cases in which funds are at present injuriously employed in making payments, and presents, in a pernicious form, the money now spent would, if well applied, amply suffice to carry this important plan into execution on the most complete and liberal scale.

The Committee are induced to hope, that the adoption of such measures would not merely be a protection and a blessing to the various classes of Aborigines now perishing in or near British Colonies, but that by setting an example so worthy of our country, the imitation of other states similarly implicated with Great Britain, would necessarily be secured.

The happy results of the Marquis of Normanby's labours in the West Indies sanction the Committee in the consoling anticipation that his exertions in this cause will be no less blest to the Aborigines than productive of imperishable honour, and lasting satisfaction to himself.

The Committee beg to offer the Marquis of Normanby copies of the Society's publications, by which he will be able to judge of the nature and extent of the operations of the Aborigines Protection Society.

They cannot neglect the present opportunity of stating, that their attention and deep sympathy are at this time especially excited by the pressing claims of the Canadian Indians, now suffering expulsion from their native lands, through the adoption of Sir Francis Bond Head's policy—by those of the natives of Australia, whose territory and means of subsistence are wrested from them without treaty or payment,—by the calamities which have befallen and continue to visit the Caffres and Zoolahs, in consequence of the desolating and murderous aggressions of the emigrating Boors—and by the unhappy condition of the many millions suffering under British sway in our East Indian possessions.

Signed on behalf of the Committee.

J. J. FREEMAN.

Presented on the 29th April, 1839, by the President, T. F. Buxton, Esq., Sir Augustus D'Este, and several other members of the Society.

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#### Art. VIII. ADDRESS OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS TO LORD NORMANBY.

The following Memorial was presented to Lord Normanby, on his assuming the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, by a Committee of the Society of Friends.

As Members of a Committee representing the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers, we are desirous of respectfully addressing Lord Normanby on the occasion of his taking the office of Secretary of State for the British Colonies, sincerely desiring that his able services in that important post may effectually promote the best interests and true happiness of that large class of our fellow-subjects whose well-being is most intimately connected with his administration.

We wish, on the present occasion, more particularly to solicit Lord Normanby's attention to the Aborigines remaining in our Colonies, or residing in districts bordering upon or connected with them.

Numerous and grievous evils have been inflicted upon this unhappy class by British subjects, almost from the first commencement of British colonisation.

From the same remote period down to the present time, strong and reiterated injunctions have been given by the Government against acts of cruelty and oppression; but these benevolent decrees have, with little exception, been suffered to remain inoperative, and the treatment of the Aborigines, by British subjects, has been allowed to fix the deepest stain on the national character.

Whilst the increasing activity of modern commerce and emigration has multiplied and extended these evils with accelerating rapidity, the idea has been industriously promulgated, that the protection and elevation of uncivilized men is impracticable—that their extinction is the inevitable decree of Heaven.

Against such a proposition the Memorialists feel bound to enter their unqualified protest. We cannot regard the situation of the Aborigines as hopeless, or that our country can be acquitted of culpable neglect of duty, so long as active measures are not taken to arrest and remedy the evil.

We ardently desire that Lord Normanby may pursue, with reference to these people generally, the same line of policy which was adopted by his benevolent and excellent predecessor (Lord Glenelg) in relation to the Caffres.

In an especial manner, we are anxious to see the right to the soil possessed by its ancient inhabitants universally acknowledged, respected, and secured.

That the rights of the Aborigines, as men and citizens, may be fully recognised, and their evidence received in our courts of law.

That the distinctions of colour and race may be completely abolished, that ample encouragement may be given to the introduction of the arts of civilized life, and that every prudent means may be promptly employed to promote their elevation in a moral, intellectual, and political point of view.

Although we have sought this opportunity to express to Lord Normanby our views with reference to the subject generally, we cannot omit to state that the Indians of Canada have especially claimed our sympathy. These unhappy people have long been our allies, and have reaped the bitterest fruits of their firm and severely tried fidelity. Thousands have been sacrificed in British wars. More have perished by the diseases and vices which we have introduced amongst them. The remnants of the most numerous and most friendly tribes have been deprived of their lands. The last sweeping measure of this kind, by which Sir Francis Bond Head endeavoured to remove the Indian, from a fertile territory, cultivated by their own hands, to the islands and granite rocks of Lake Huron, threatens their speedy extinction.

The Members of the Society of Friends, on that occasion, believed it right to expostulate with the Government against the execution of a scheme which they could not but regard as unjust and cruel. Although the plea was received with attention, we



fear that the lamentable events which have taken place in British North America may have so far engaged the attention of the Executive, that the claims of the Indians may have been disregarded; whilst the sale of the lands which have been wrested from them has, so far as it has been effected, placed redress out of reach.

In the colony of South Australia, several Members of the Society of Friends have established themselves in and near the town of Adelaide. They cordially unite with some of their fellow-citizens, and with the Protector of the Aborigines appointed by Government, in seeking to secure the existence and comfort of the natives of that part of the coast; but it is impossible that the rations supplied by charitable donation can compensate for the extinction of the wild animals which abounded before our settlers arrived. A few huts, built in the same charitable spirit, to protect them from the weather, cannot compensate for the loss of a territory almost as large as France, which has been taken from them without treaty or payment, and in which no reservation for their use has been made.

Though the natives are employed by our colonists, and in some degree encouraged to reside in our settlement, their evidence cannot be received in our courts; and, virtually outlaws in the land of their forefathers, their lives are kept in danger, and their minds in degradation. One of our members residing in the colony has, in a recent letter, expressed his earnest desire that this difficulty with respect to evidence may be speedily remedied.

In the settlement at the Swan River, in Southern and South-eastern Africa, in G'niana, and, above all, in our extensive British possessions in India, the oppression of the Aborigines by our fellow-subjects has produced an amount of suffering and wrong which excites our deepest sympathy, and impels us to plead the cause of these oppressed victims of British speculation with the Secretary for the Colonial Department, and we desire that, in striving to redress these evils, his talents may be guided by best wisdom, his hands strengthened by divine favour, and that the security and happiness of thousands may be the joyful and blessed result, to his own enduring satisfaction and peace.

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#### Art. VIII. COLONIZATION OF NEW ZEALAND.

At the present time, when the attention of the public is particularly called to New Zealand, as a part of the globe offering great attractions to the speculator and the emigrant, the following extracts from the letters of Dr. Lang to the Earl of Durham cannot fail to be read with interest. The Doctor has very recently returned from New Zealand, where he took great pains to make himself acquainted with the state of the islands, as respects the Aborigines and the several classes of settlers who have gone amongst

them. It has been his object, in writing the letters which he has published, to obtain such a system of emigration as may conduce to the protection of the natives and the virtue and happiness of the colonists. Prior to the operations of the New Zealand Company, numerous individuals had become possessed of the lands of the natives by unjust or by very questionable means. The Company contemplates the restitution of a portion of their lands, and the adoption of a benevolent system; but the task is a difficult one, and it is obvious that it will require a greater determination of purpose and more vigorous and well-directed efforts in the cause than have yet been displayed in any of our colonies, if any real security is to be obtained for the Aborigines. The concurrent testimony of numerous travellers represents the natives of New Zealand as superior to most other uncivilized nations, in intelligence and aptitude to acquire our arts, as well as in courage and energy of character. New Zealanders have often served in European vessels, and proved excellent sailors. In this capacity some of the islanders have visited England, and have been greatly esteemed by those with whom they resided, for their good dispositions and orderly conduct. It is deplorable that such a people should be corrupted by the crimes of nominal Christians, whose contamination sinks the pagan far below his original degradation. Will it not reflect lasting disgrace on our countrymen, to have widely spread the most loathsome and disgusting diseases amongst one of the finest of the human families, to have supplied them with deadly weapons for their mutual slaughter, and finally, to have spoiled them of their land and effected their extermination?

The acts of individuals connected with the Church Missionary Society are not brought forward in these extracts with any unkind feeling towards that body, but with the hope that those who are interested in the support and management of that Society may effectually direct their attention to the case. There must always be a difficulty in *securing* the due performance of service, such as a Missionary Society should require, by means of hired and delegated agents; and the difficulty is immensely increased when inspection is almost impracticable; but this does not lessen the importance of the right and successful application of the funds and other resources of so powerful an institution. Let distinct rules be laid down; let the chaplain of every vessel be questioned as an inspector on his return; and above all, let the missionaries be required to send annually from their schools one or more of their best pupils, whose progress would prove the care and success of the teachers, and who, after receiving further instruction in this country, would on their return be the best converters, teachers, and civiliziers of their countrymen.

#### EXTRACT FROM LETTER I.

Of the character of the European population, now permanently settled in New Zealand, it is scarcely necessary to inform your Lordship. With a few honourable exceptions, it consists of the veriest refuse of civilized society—of runaway sailors, of runaway convicts, of convicts who have

served out their term of bondage in one or other of the two penal colonies, of fraudulent debtors who have escaped from their creditors in Sydney or Hobart Town, and of needy adventurers from the two colonies, almost equally unprincipled. In conjunction with the whalers, that occasionally visit the coast, the influence of these individuals on the natives is demoralizing in the extreme. Their usual articles of barter are either muskets and gunpowder, or tobacco and rum. Most of them live in open concubinage or adultery with native women, and the scenes of outrageous licentiousness and debauchery that are ever and anon occurring on their premises are often sufficiently revolting to excite the reprobation and disgust of the natives themselves.

I happened to be crossing the Bay of Islands in a boat, on the evening of Saturday, the 2nd of February last, with a countryman of my own, who has long been settled in that vicinity, and I am happy to add, as the husband of a virtuous wife, and the father of a most interesting family, when the sound of music and dancing attracted my attention; the sound of a drum, of a French horn, and a fiddle, being distinctly audible in the distance. "It is on board one of the two American whalers that arrived to-day," observed my intelligent friend; "they are both *temperance ships*, but I know well from past experience, they are both by this time full of native women for the worst of purposes." In the village of Kororadika, adjoining the outer anchorage-ground in the Bay of Islands, I observed three or four public-houses of the vilest character close to the native village in that part of the Bay; the unfortunate inhabitants of which are thus exposed, without hope of escape, to the worst possible influence and example: while at the mouth of the Kauakau River, near the inner anchorage-ground, I also observed a whole group of English public-houses of the most infamous description, close to another native Pa, or fortified village, which, during a late war in the island, contained upwards of fifteen hundred fighting men, besides women and children.

That scenes of outrageous violence, injustice and oppression should be perpetually recurring in a community composed of such materials, is naturally to be expected.

In short, *Lynch law* is at present the only law among the numerous Europeans in New Zealand; there being no authority to appeal to in the island, and no redress procurable for the most atrocious injuries but by an appeal to physical force. A few weeks before the period of my visit to the island, a European had been tarred and feathered by some of his countrymen, for some misdemeanour, either real or imaginary; and another had been tied up to a tree and flogged, and afterwards compelled to sign a note acknowledging that he had not only received the flogging, but that he richly deserved it. The note was demanded under the idea that it would secure the flagellators against all legal consequences.

It may doubtless be urged in reference to these observations, that there is a British Resident in New Zealand, with a salary of 500*l.* per annum from the Colonial Revenue of New South Wales, with liberty to draw for 200*l.* more for presents to the native chiefs. That salary, my Lord, or rather the principle on which it is allowed—viz., for services performed out of the colony, and not for the colonists,—is universally regarded as a prodigious grievance in New South Wales; and I am sure your Lordship will allow it is a most unnecessary cause of offence to a really loyal and important colony. But from whatever source the salary of the office of British Resident in New Zealand should be derived in future, I cannot help remarking that the office itself has hitherto been totally useless; the Resident having no authority to enforce the observance of any law, no power to support his office by the punishment of offences, however atrocious, and no employment whatever that I could possibly ascertain, but that of standing sentinel upon the British ensign,

which is hoisted close to his residence on one of the headlands of the Bay of Islands ; and which I cannot help adding, is actually dishonoured by the prevalence of outrageous lawlessness, injustice, and oppression around the spot where it idly floats.

In short, the New Zealanders can only be regarded as mere children, incapable of managing their own property, except through the agency of some liberal, enlightened, and Christian Government, acting as their trustee ; and I beg to assure your Lordship, that unless some such Government interfere speedily on their behalf, by the establishment of a system of general guardianship for the protection of the natives on the one hand, and the enactment of equal laws, both for natives and Europeans on the other, there is no prospect for the New Zealand nation but that of gradual demoralization and speedy extinction. From the causes that are now in operation, chiefly through their intercourse with Europeans, the number of the natives, for a large extent of country around the Bay of Islands, as well as for a considerable distance to the northward and southward of that Bay, has been diminished at least one-half, during the last fifteen years ; and it is the opinion of the most respectable Europeans on the spot, that if the present system is allowed to continue much longer, the period of their final extinction, in the northern division of the northern island, cannot be far distant.

This consummation, so strongly to be deprecated by every genuine philanthropist, is likely, my Lord, to be indefinitely accelerated by the prevalence of a system which has recently come into operation in New Zealand, and which is at present acted upon in that island to an extent of which your Lordship and the British public can have no conception ; a system, moreover, which it is alike the interest and the bounden duty of the British Government, as the great colonising power of modern Europe, and the natural protector of the Aborigines of every land to which the all-pervading commerce of Great Britain extends, to put a stop to immediately.

The unexpected and truly splendid results of the land-selling and immigration system in New South Wales, very speedily called into existence a class of persons in that Colony who were known by the name of Land Sharks, and who made it their business to attend all Government sales of land, for the purpose of jobbing in the article, and especially of extorting money from newly-arrived immigrants, or other *bona fide* intending purchasers of land, by pretending that they were desirous of purchasing the very lands which the latter had selected, and threatening to bid them up to an exorbitant price for their selections, unless they were paid a certain amount of *hush-money*. Now as persons of this class have not only been enabled to ascertain the real value of waste land in the colonies of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, and Southern Australia, through the working of the admirable system now in operation for the disposal of such land in these Colonies, but have been somewhat cramped and counteracted of late in their nefarious operations by the judicious regulations of the Local Governments in these settlements ; they have turned their eyes all at once to New Zealand, where there is no minimum price of land established under the sanction of any Government, and where extensive tracts of the first quality can at present be purchased from the ignorant and deluded natives for the merest trifle. In this way, tracts of eligible land, of sufficient extent to constitute whole earldoms in England, have already been acquired in New Zealand, by the merest adventurers,—by men who had arrived in that island without a shilling in their pockets, but who had had influence enough to obtain credit for a few English muskets, a few barrels of gunpowder, a few bundles of slops, or a few kegs of rum or tobacco in Sydney or Hobart Town. And thus, my Lord, after being despoiled of



their pigs and potatoes, and their other articles of native produce, in pretended barter for the veriest trifles, the poor natives, who, your Lordship and the British public have been told again and again, are capable of establishing a regular Government of their own, are, at length whiddled out of their land,—their only remaining possession,—and reduced at once to a state of hopeless poverty and moral degradation. One of the most extensive purchasers of land in New Zealand, at the period of my visit to the Bay of Islands, in January last, was a person of the name of White, who had formerly been a Wesleyan missionary 'at Hokianga, on the west coast, but had been dismissed from this society for immorality. This reputable individual is now a merchant of the highest caste, and one of the largest proprietors of land, (purchased, of course, in the way I have mentioned,) at the Hokianga and Kaiparra rivers in New Zealand.

It is absolutely distressing, my Lord, to observe the effects which this system of unprincipled rapacity is already producing upon the truly unfortunate natives of New Zealand, in conjunction with the other sources of demoralisation to which I have already alluded. The more intelligent of the natives perceive and acknowledge their unfortunate condition in these respects themselves; but they are spell-bound, as it were, and cannot resist the temptation to which the offer of articles of European produce and manufacture infallibly exposes them. Like mere children, they will give all they are worth to-day for the trinket or gewgaw, which they will sell for the veriest trifle to-morrow. Pomare, an intelligent native chief, who speaks tolerably good English, but who has already alienated the greater part of his valuable land in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands, observed to one of my fellow-voyagers, "Englishmen give us blankets, powder, and iron-pots, for our land; but we soon blow away the powder, the iron-pots get broken, and the blankets wear out; but the land never blows away, or wears out." The master of the vessel, in which I have just returned to England, had resided for a considerable time at the Bay of Islands, about eight or ten years ago, as the master of an English whaler, and was consequently well known to the natives in that part of the island. On going ashore at the village of Kororadika, the day after we had cast anchor, he called at the house of a native chief, of the name of Riva, with whom he had formerly been well acquainted, and asked him, how he had not come on board his ship, to welcome him, as he used to do, when he heard of his arrival in the Bay. "I was ashamed to go," replied the noble-minded, but unfortunate chief, "because I had no present to offer you. Formerly, when I went to see my friends, I always carried them a present of pigs, or potatoes; but I am a poor man now. I have sold all my land, and I have nothing to give my friends." Riva is as fine a looking man as I have ever seen; tall, muscular, and athletic; with an expression of kindness on his open countenance, which it is impossible to mistake, notwithstanding the tattooing with which it is disfigured.

"Give me a double-barrelled gun, to keep me in mind of you when you are gone," said the chief Pomare to the captain of the vessel in which I have just returned to England, while taking his leave of him, on the eve of our sailing: "but of what use would it be to us?" added Pomare, "for we are all dying, and we shall be all dead by-and-by." This process, my Lord, will be accelerated tenfold, if the nefarious arts that are now so extensively in operation among the European inhabitants of the island, for the purpose of robbing the natives of their valuable land, are allowed to be continued. For when a native disposes of a portion of his land to a European, the probability is, that the portion he retains becomes of no use to him in his own estimation, and he is therefore virtually compelled to sell it also; for in all probability, and perhaps for the express purpose of realizing such a result, the European puts cattle

on his purchase ; these, of course, trespass on the native's land, as there are no fences in the country, and destroy his corn and potatoes ; and the unfortunate New Zealander either disposes of his remaining land in disgust, for the merest trifle, and migrates to the interior, or sets himself down, with his family, close to some European anchorage-ground, to live on roots and shell-fish, and to obtain a miserable livelihood by maintaining a precarious and disgraceful intercourse with worthless Europeans.

It is thus, my Lord, that one of the finest Aboriginal races on the surface of the globe is fast disappearing from the face of the earth. It is impossible, however, that Her Majesty's liberal and enlightened, and shall I not be permitted to add, Christian Government, can long remain an indifferent spectator of such a consummation. The state of things I have endeavoured to describe has in no respect been brought about by the New Zealanders themselves. It has been the natural result of the extension of British commerce, and the planting of two British penal colonies on the adjacent coast of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land. It has been the corollary, so to speak, of the land-selling and immigration system of New South Wales. In such circumstances, I conceive, my Lord, Her Majesty's Government *must* interfere, as well for the vindication of its own character in the civilized world, as for the sake of injured and outraged humanity, by placing itself, as it were, "between the living and the dead, that the plague may be stayed."

#### EXTRACT FROM LETTER II.

Instead of confining themselves with the disinterestedness that became their office to the conscientious discharge of their important duties, as the professed disciples of "Him who, though rich, for our sakes became poor, that we through his poverty might be rich," the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand, utterly incredible as it may appear in England, have actually been the principals in the grand conspiracy of the European inhabitants of the island to rob and plunder the natives of their land !

Of the extent of land belonging to the Society as a corporate body, at their principal stations of Waimat , Pailia and Tippunah, I had no means of obtaining a correct account. I have reason to believe, however, it is by no means extensive. But the missionaries themselves, like the ancient Gehazi, have made ample amends for the moderation of—their Master Elisha—the Society in England, in the extent of land of which they have become the purchasers, forsooth, from the natives on their own private account. For I was credibly informed on the island that there is scarcely one of them who has not managed in this way to secure for himself or his children in perpetuity a large extent of valuable territory.

Mr. Shepherd, for example, a lay missionary from New South Wales, and the son of a respectable emancipist, residing at Kissing Point on the Parramatta River in that colony, bought a large tract of eligible land from the natives, having a frontage of from four to five miles on one of the navigable rivers in the Bay of Islands—for *two check shirts and an iron-pot, or go-ashore*, as it is called by the natives !

Mr. Fairbairn, who was merely a journeyman coachmaker, and by no means of apostolic character either, in the village of Parramatta, in New South Wales, when he was engaged as a lay-missionary for New Zealand by the late Rev. Samuel Marsden, has purchased, forsooth, from the natives, a tract of land, to the northward of the River Thames, *having a frontage of from thirty-five to forty miles on the east coast of the island towards the Pacific Ocean.* I could not learn how far back from the sea Mr. Fairbairn goes, or what the valuable *consideration* had been for this princely estate.

The Rev. Mr. Williams, formerly a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, but now the ordained head of the New Zealand Mission, has a large tract of land, in conjunction with Mr. Fairbairn, adjoining the society's settlement at Paihia, in the Bay of Islands, and stretching along the left bank of the Kauakaua River.

In short the largest seignories in New Zealand, are the property of the Church Missionaries and their sons; and the poor ignorant and deluded natives have thus, my Lord, been "scattered and peeled" by the very men who ought to have been their natural protectors, and to have remonstrated and protested to the British Government again and again, against any attempt, on the part of the British subjects, to obtain possession of any part of their land, without the express consent and authority of the British Government. It is peculiarly aggravating, for instance, to reflect that the patrimony of poor Kiva, of Kororadika, the native chief I have already mentioned, is now the private property of certain of the missionaries and their children; and that much of Pomare's land has also fallen into the same hands.

Yes, my Lord, it is mortifying in the extreme, to any man of the least pretensions to Christian philanthropy, to reflect, that instead of endeavouring to protect the New Zealanders—the interesting and confiding people of their charge—from the aggressions of unprincipled European adventurers, the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society have themselves been the foremost and the most successful in despoiling them of their land.

For every acre of land belonging to the Church Missionary Society, as a corporate body, in New Zealand, I am confident, my Lord, that the full price has been paid. And as that price was, at the suggestion of the late Rev. Samuel Marsden, the Society's agent in New South Wales, principally paid in cattle, sheep, and horses from that colony; and as Mr. Marsden himself was long famous for one of the best breeds of horned cattle in New South Wales,—the Marsden breed,—there can be no doubt whatever that the whole transaction, as far as the Society and Mr. Marsden were concerned, was characterized by honesty and fair dealing. But as the natives had no idea either of flocks and herds, or of rearing sheep and cattle for food, they soon grew tired of the few sheep and the bull calf or heifer that had fallen to their lot individually, and had furnished them with amusement for a time, and they then sold them to the missionaries!

In such circumstances as those I have thus detailed, your Lordship will not be astonished that the New Zealand Mission should hitherto have made so slight an impression for good, as it has confessedly done on the interesting natives of that island, notwithstanding the enormous expense at which it has hitherto been conducted.\*

#### EXTRACT FROM LETTER III.

I am sorry to be obliged to add, on the authority of an intelligent countryman of my own in New Zealand, whose means of information are very extensive, that of the three nations engaged most extensively in the Southern Fisheries—the British, the French, and the Americans—the influence of our own sailors on the New Zealanders is the most demoralising: they are the most intemperate, the most disorderly, and the most abandoned.

#### EXTRACT FROM LETTER IV.

A few years ago, when a few adventurers from Van Diemen's Land crossed over to the South coast of New Holland, and discovered a

\* The present cost, I believe, is £15,000. It has been as high as £17,000.



splendid country, which is now rapidly settling, in the neighbourhood of Port Philip, they negotiated for the purchase of vast tracts of land for a mere trifle from the black natives. The deeds were drawn up in due form; the natives having appended their respective marks with all the customary formalities of English law: and certain lawyers in Van Diemen's Land, who, it was alleged, were concerned in the speculation, pronounced them valid. But the Imperial Government, insisting on his late Majesty's right of pre-emption, or in other words, of treating exclusively with the natives for their land, very properly disallowed the whole transaction, and the native deeds were consequently held null and void.

Now, I conceive, my Lord, that the case of all purchases of land from the natives of New Zealand is a case precisely similar; and the interests of humanity, as well as of Her Majesty's Government generally, demand that her Majesty shall not suffer the Royal prerogative to be invaded by individual and unwarranted speculation in that island, any more than it was allowed to be invaded in a similar manner on the South coast of New Holland. By maintaining the Royal prerogative in the case of New Zealand, as it was maintained at Port Philip, Her Majesty will reserve to herself the salutary and important right of revising every alleged purchase of land in that island—will retain the power of confirming honest men in their possessions, and of obliging persons of a different description to restore to the natives, or to the Government on their behalf, the land they have acquired dishonestly—and will thus establish a precedent of beneficial operation for the Aborigines of every uncivilized country in the South Seas having relations with British subjects in all time coming.

My Lord, It has only taken the same period of time, about thirty years, to exterminate the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land, under the mild sway of Britain, that it took to exterminate the Aborigines of Hispaniola under the iron rod of Ferdinand and Isabella. Within the last twenty years there were four different nations of Aborigines, each speaking a language of its own, in the Island of Van Diemen's Land, but for several years past there has not been a single native in that island! After a long period of exterminating warfare, the miserable remnant of the aboriginal race was at length collected from all parts of the island, and conveyed to a small island in Bass's Straits, by an individual whose heroic devotedness to the cause of outraged and oppressed humanity has been scarcely, if at all, inferior to that of the celebrated Howard.† In that island they have been reclaimed in great measure from their savage habits, and instructed in the principles and duties of the Christian religion; ‡ but as they have recently been dying off very fast, either from consumption or from confinement, Sir John Franklin, the Governor of

† Mr. G. Robinson, now Chief Protector of the Aborigines in New South Wales.

‡ Their proficiency in psalmody, Mr. Robinson has recently informed me, is most remarkable. They sing in parts, and take great delight in the exercise; their singing being much superior to that of any European congregation in Van Diemen's Land. And yet these are the people whom the colonists of that island have been shooting down like wild beasts for twenty years past. A spot was pointed out to me a few years ago, in the interior of the island, where seventeen of them had been shot at one time in cold blood. They had been bathing, in the heat of a summer's day, in the deep pool of a river, in a sequestered and romantic glen, when they were suddenly surprised by a party of armed colonists who had secured the passes, and I believe not one of them was left to tell the tale. Nay, a convict bush-ranger in Van Diemen's Land, who was hanged a few years ago for crimes committed against the European inhabitants of the colony, confessed, when under sentence of death, that he had actually been in the habit of shooting the black natives to feed his dogs.



Van Diemen's Land, and my Lord Glenelg, strongly recommended, some time ago, that an asylum should be given them at Port Philip, on the coast of New Holland, the expense of their maintenance to be paid by Van Diemen's Land. But even this miserable boon, my Lord, has been refused them, on the ground of their not being sufficiently civilized and Christianized yet, by a Committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, with a Protestant Bishop for their Chairman! Nay, as the law in that colony has recently been taking cognizance of certain murderous outrages lately committed on the defenceless Aborigines of New South Wales by the convict workmen of the country, aided and abetted by their wealthy colonial masters; individuals, wearing the garb of gentlemen, and utterly disgracing the British name, have recently been giving out in the colony that they will henceforth take a quieter mode of getting rid of the black natives—whose grievous wrongs, my Lord, do sometimes, I confess, render them troublesome at the distant cattle stations—viz. by giving them wheaten bread, of which they are exceedingly fond, steeped in a solution of arsenic!

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#### Art. IX. MEASLES AMONGST THE ABORIGINES AT THE CAPE.

Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Dr. Philip, dated Cape Town, May 3, 1839.

After adverting to the introduction of the measles at the Caledon Institution, Dr. Philip thus writes:—

“You are not perhaps aware of the reason the people of this colony have to dread this disease, nor of the extent to which we are suffering from it at the present moment. It is about thirty-two years since it was before in the colony, and the inhabitants who were then above childhood, and who are now living, speak of its ravages with apprehensions which strongly indicate what their feelings then were. From the description they give of it, it seems to have been more fatal to human life than the pestilence, and we know not what may be its effects before it shall have made the tour of the country. In Cape Town, in a population of from 23,000 to 25,000, in the course of a few weeks it is supposed to have swept away from 1200 to 1500 persons, young and old, and in some cases whole families, parents and children, have been cut off, and their dwellings have been shut up. Under these circumstances, you will not be surprised when I inform you that I tremble for the poor people at our Missionary stations, who are in want of almost every thing necessary to mitigate the virulent symptoms of the disease. By the last post I find they have made their appearance in the neighbourhood of Bethelsdorf, and at the Kat River. All the stations will be in the greatest need of food, and medicine, and clothing. All that we can do in Cape Town is required for the coloured population immediately about us. The Government ought to do something on a large scale to relieve the poor people, and I have addressed a memorial to the Governor on the subject.

I send a copy of the memorial, with a copy of the Governor's answer. I shall accept of the offer of medical attendance and medicine as far as it can be rendered available to us, but this will be little more than an item of what is wanted.

## Art. X. NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN STATISTICS.

To those who have paid any attention to the probable number of the North American Indians but a few years ago, the following enumeration of the strength of their tribes in 1836, must exhibit a fearful diminution. Their numbers are doubtless by this time much further reduced; yet they are still a most interesting remnant for whose rescue the benevolent of Britain and America should regard it as a sacred duty to exert their strenuous efforts. Apathetic indifference and inactivity at such a crisis involves in some sort a participation in the crime of their extermination.

### INDIAN TRIBES IN 1836. (From Official Returns.\*)

#### I.—Indian Tribes east of the Mississippi.

1.—Under stipulations to remove to the west of the Mississippi.	Ottawas and Chippewas in Michigan . . . . . 6500
Ottawas of Ohio . . . . . 230	Total under stipulation 48918
Potawatamies of Indiana . . . 3000	
Chippewas, Ottawas, and Potawatimies . . . . . 6288	2.—Not under stipulation to remove.
Winnebagoes . . . . . 4500	New York Indians . . . . . 4176
Chewkees . . . . . 16000	Wyandots . . . . . 575
Creeks . . . . . 4000	Miamies . . . . . 1100
Chickasaws . . . . . 5400	Ottawas and Chippewas of the Lakes . . . . . 2564
Seminoles . . . . . 2600	Total not under stipulation 8415
Appalachicolas . . . . . 400	

#### II.—Indians who have emigrated to the west of the Mississippi.

Chippewas, Ottawas, and Potawatimies . . . . . 1712	Delawares . . . . . 826
Choctaws . . . . . 15000	Shawnees . . . . . 1272
Quapaws . . . . . 476	Ottawas . . . . . 200
Creeks . . . . . 17894	Weas . . . . . 222
Seminoles . . . . . 407	Rankeshaws . . . . . 162
Appalachicolas . . . . . 265	Senecas . . . . . 251
Peorias and Kaskaskias . . . . 132	Senecas and Shawnees . . . . 211
Cherokees . . . . . 6072	Total who have emigrated 45,690
Kickapoos . . . . . 588	

\* Extract from "America and the American Church," by the Rev. Henry Caswall, M. A. 1839.

III.—*Indigenous Tribes near the Western Frontier.*

The total number of these is about . . . . . 150,341

RECAPITULATION.

Indians East of the Mississippi . . . . .	57,433
Emigrant Indians . . . . .	45,690
Indigenous Tribes . . . . .	150,341
	Total 253,464

Art. XI. SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE FINGOES, SOUTH AFRICA.

Although the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society would not, except under very peculiar circumstances, feel justified in applying to the direct relief of any particular case any portion of the limited means committed to their care for the promotion of general objects, yet on several occasions they have become acquainted with local claims, in behalf of which a strong appeal might be made to the liberality of the public. Of this description is a subscription on behalf of the Fingoes, of which the following statement is here published, with the hope of advancing the object and to embrace the opportunity of expressing the cordial satisfaction of the Committee at this effort of the present governor, Sir George Napier, to redress the wrongs of the natives arising out of pre-existing abuses. In this country the subscription has been set on foot and collected by the benevolent exertions of Lady Bunbury.

The object of this subscription is to procure a sufficient sum of money to build a place of worship, a school, and a missionary residence, for the religious, moral, and useful instruction of a South African tribe under the British control, known by the appellation of Fingoes, or "Wanderers." The history of this unfortunate tribe is, that having been invited, during the last Kaffir war, to emancipate themselves from their masters, by the Governor of the Cape, and to take refuge within the frontier, they have, since the peace, been left without a settled home, without lands or employment, within reach of their former masters, and without any resource but vagrancy and theft; at the same time they are said to be a mild, docile, and naturally industrious race, who would be a most valuable acquisition to the colony as labourers and servants, if properly instructed and brought into the habits of civilized life. With this view, and for the still more important object of rescuing them from the degraded, miserable, and even perilous situation in which they obtain a precarious subsistence, the present Governor, Sir George Napier, has determined to collect them together, and to allot them lands in the Fitzimamma district, about half way between Cape Town and Graham's Town, under the superintendence of two Moravian missionaries; where it is confidently hoped that, with the

assistance proposed to be raised by this subscription, this infant settlement may be so established in the course of a year or two, as to afford the subscribers satisfactory evidence that their bounty has not been misapplied.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Miss Mary Phillips . . .	25	0	0	Lady Lilford . . . . .	2	0	0
Miss Shepley . . . . .	20	0	0	Henry Wilson, Esq. . . .	2	0	0
Samuel Gurney, Esq. . . .	10	0	0	Mrs. Wilson . . . . .	1	0	0
Mrs. Harrison . . . . .	5	0	0	Thomas Quayle, Esq. . . .	1	0	0
Miss Harrison . . . . .	5	0	0	By the hands of Mr. Hasted	7	15	0
Samuel Hoare, Esq. . . . .	5	0	0	Rev. Henry Hasted . . . .	2	0	0
Mrs. Hoare, sen. . . . .	5	0	0	Sir Henry & Lady Bunbury	60	0	0
Thomas Clarkson, Esq. . . .	5	0	0	Charles Bunbury, Esq. . . .	5	0	0
Four other persons by the				Captain Napier, R. N. . . .	5	0	0
hands of Mr. Clarkson . . .	11	0	0	Mrs. Richard Napier . . . .	2	0	0
Marquess of Bristol . . . .	10	0	0				
Lord Arthur Hervey . . . . .	1	0	0				
					£189	5	0

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE  
ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY,

*In addition to those which appeared in the Report.*

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Wm. Evans, Esq. M. P. . . .	10	0	0	Miss Lydia Harris . . . . .	2	0	0
Joseph Wontner, Esq. . . .	10	10	0	SUBSCRIPTIONS.			
Robert Barclay, Esq. . . . .	10	0	0	Jeffrey Lucas, Esq. . . . .	1	1	0
N. D. . . . .	10	0	0	Miss Mary Phillips (2 yrs.)	2	2	0
Miss Ann Hopkins Smith . . .	50	0	0	Charles Brewin, Esq. . . . .	1	1	0
Mrs. Jane Harris . . . . .	5	0	0	W. T. Blair, Esq. . . . .	2	0	0
Miss Jane Harris . . . . .	2	0	0	W. E. Forster, Esq. . . . .	1	1	0
Miss Sarah Harris . . . . .	2	0	0				

*List of Publications of the Society, to be had at Messrs. Ball & Co.'s, Paternoster Row.*

CONSTITUTION of the SOCIETY, and ADDRESS, 1837. 3d.

REPORT of the PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON ABORIGINAL TRIBES, with COMMENTS, 1837. 2s. 6d.

APPEAL ON BEHALF of the HOTTENTOTS, recently settled near the Great Fish River, South Africa, 1838. 1d.

THE FIRST ANNUAL REPORT of the SOCIETY, 1838. 1s.

THE SECOND ANNUAL REPORT of the SOCIETY, 1839. 1s.

MONTHLY EXTRACTS, Nos. I., II., III., 1839. 6d.

REPORT ON the ABORIGINES of the AUSTRALIAS, 1838. 6d.

REPORT ON the INDIANS of UPPER CANADA, 1839. 1s.

MR. MARTIN'S STATE OF INDIA, 1839. 3d.



# EXTRACTS

FROM THE

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

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No. IV.

AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER, 1839.

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LONDON :

WILLIAM BALL, ARNOLD, AND Co.

34, PATERNOSTER ROW.

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1839.

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## Art. I. AN ETHNOLOGICAL COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

At the last meeting of the British Association for the promotion of science, Dr. Prichard read an interesting paper on the extinction of the human races. He gave additional extent to the remarks contained in his letter to Dr. Hodgkin, published in the second number of these Extracts, and illustrated the subject with some curious information respecting some of the extinct races in Asia. A Committee was appointed by the section of Zoology and Botany, for the purpose of drawing up and circulating questions calculated to obtain information respecting the feeble uncivilised races of mankind; and a grant of £5 was made for the furtherance of this object.

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## Art. II. ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF PARIS.

The study of the physical history of man is so closely connected with the attempts to preserve and protect those branches of the human family whose continued existence is in danger, that the formation of an Ethnological Society in the metropolis of the scientific world, and supported by some of its most distinguished citizens, cannot but be hailed as an event of great importance by the friends of the Aborigines.

We have received the following prospectus of the formation and regulation of the Society, accompanied with a list of its founders and early members.

Physical organisation, moral and intellectual character, language, and historical traditions, are the principal elements of distinction between the races of man. These different elements have not yet been so studied as to construct on its true foundation the science of ethnology. To arrive at this end by a series of observations, and to establish what are really the different races, is the object for which the Ethnological Society of Paris has been formed.

### RULES OF THE SOCIETY.

SEC. I.—Art. 1. The Society collects, arranges, and publishes observations calculated to make known the different races of man, which either are or may have been spread over the globe.

Art. 2. For this end it receives the communications of its members.

Art. 3. It enters into correspondence with scientific, religious, and philanthropic societies.

Art. 4. It likewise enters into relation with men of learning and science, with travellers, and all other persons who are placed in favourable circumstances to supply information.

Art. 5. It furnishes general instructions applicable to all countries, and special instructions applicable only to specified regions.

Art. 6. It is likewise an object of the Society to form collections, by bringing together drawings, portraits, and natural objects which exhibit the peculiar characters of races. The Society also collects objects of art and industry which may indicate the degree of intelligence and advancement which distinguish different people.

Art. 7. The Society, in the pursuit of its scientific objects, will neglect no means which may be in its power by which it may contribute to the amelioration of the Aborigines.

#### SEC. II.—CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Art. 8. The operations of the Society shall be directed by a Central Committee, composed of 20 members; consisting of the original founders and other ordinary members whom they may judge qualified to be associated with them.

Art. 9. In case of vacancy the place shall be filled at a general meeting by selection from a list of three candidates, presented by the Committee for each nomination.

Art. 10. The Central Committee shall meet at least once a month.

Art. 11. An Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held at least once a year.

Art. 12. At this meeting the chair shall be taken by an honorary President, who shall be chosen for this purpose by the Committee.

Art. 13. At the close of each sitting of the Committee, one or more members shall engage to read at the next sitting a paper on a subject to be decided by themselves. Ethnological subjects shall likewise be proposed, and the members generally are invited to take part in the discussion of them.

#### SEC. III.—CONSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY.

Art. 14. The Society is composed of ordinary, honorary, and corresponding members.

Art. 15. Candidates must be proposed by two members, for admission by the Central Committee.

Art. 16. The titles of Honorary and Corresponding Members are conferred directly by the Committee.

Art. 17. The ordinary members, whether resident or non-resident, whether national or foreign, shall all be admitted on the same conditions.

Art. 18. Every member has a right to be present at all meetings, and to express his opinion in the deliberations of the Committee.

Art. 19. Every member has a right to the use of the Library and to the collections belonging to the Society.

Art. 20. The ordinary members shall pay a contribution of 12 francs a year, and the fee of 5 francs on the receipt of their diploma.

Art. 21. The Society shall publish a report of its labours.

The following are the names of the early members, who signed the regulations submitted to the Government for its sanction:—

Dr. Foville, M.D.P.

Berthelot, Secretary of the Geographical Society.

Davesac, Member of the Geographical Society.

Lenormand, Member of the Institute.

Dr. Edwards, Member of the Institute.

Felon, Professor of History.

Mochelet, Member of the Institute.

Imbert Demotelet.

Charles Emanuel.

Serres, Member of the Institute.

Flourens, Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Sciences.

David, Member of the Institute (Academy of Fine Arts.)



Brechet, Member of the Institute (Academy of Sciences.)  
 H. Milne Edwards, Member of the Institute (Academy of Sciences.)  
 Le Visconte De Santarim, Correspondent of the Institute.  
 Gareen de Taey, Member of the Institute.  
 Le Tromne, Member of the Institute.  
 Bouilleaud, Professor of the School of Medicine.  
 Amadie Thurny, Correspondent of the Institute.  
 Alcide D'Orbigny, Member of the Geographical Society.

Several men of eminence and talent have since joined the Society. General instructions have been given to sixteen travellers going to different parts of the world, who have engaged to furnish communications respecting the different races. Instructions of a more particular character have been sent in four or five directions.

Several interesting papers have been read to the Society, which has already assumed an active character.

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### Art. III. THE VISIT OF THE PASHA OF EGYPT TO THE COUNTRY OF SOUDAN.

The lamentable but indisputable fact that the uncivilised races of mankind have been degraded and reduced in number whenever they have been brought into contact with civilised men, though in a great degree attributable to the injustice and cruelty with which they have been treated, is doubtless partly to be ascribed to a cause which, though not characterised by the same amount of depravity, cannot be held as excusable. It has been a great defect in our plans of colonisation and commerce, that the means of protecting and elevating the natives with whom these enterprises have brought us into relation, have either been wholly lost sight of, or weakly and imperfectly undertaken. The late journey of the Pasha of Egypt amongst his uncivilised subjects and neighbours, to the south-west of his dominions, furnishes an example which, though set by one who is not a Christian, and is himself deficient in much that is understood by the term civilised, is nevertheless well worthy the imitation and emulation of Christian and civilised rulers. Were it followed by this country in its relations with India and Southern and Western Africa, much misery and destruction of human life would be prevented, and the avenues for a healthful and mutually advantageous commerce would be multiplied and extended. Were the policy of the Pasha of Egypt towards the barbarous tribes of Soudan and Sennaar imitated by the United States towards the Indian tribes within their territories or bordering on their frontiers, we should no longer receive accounts like those which will be found in the subsequent pages of these extracts, and the Americans would cease to look forward with complacency to the utter extermination of the legitimate possessors of the soil. Were such the policy of the Texians, they might yet redeem the character which it is to be feared that history will have to give to a republic formed in one of the brightest spots of the earth, but disgraced by the oppression of the black and the destruction of the red man.

The republics of South America have need to follow the example of Ali Pasha, before they can fully merit the praises which they have received for abolishing slavery and extinguishing the political distinctions of colour. Were the policy of this Mohamedan prince adopted by these Catholic republics and their neighbours the Brazilians, they would cease to break up Indian villages, and carry off their unoffending inhabitants into slavery, and the civilised inhabitants of their cities would no longer dread the incursions of barbarous hordes, and the repetition of the atrocities of Para.

“In the autumn of 1838 the Pasha’s attention was turned to his savage territory of Soudan, and he resolved to take measures for the abolition of the slave trade, and to introduce a reformation in the customs, commerce, and agriculture of the inhabitants. For this purpose he repaired thither in person, accompanied by his usual attendants and several scientific persons collected not only from his own country but from the continent of Europe. He embarked in a steam-boat, October 15, 1838. In passing the cataracts he had to endure some hardships, and was exposed to considerable danger. After passing the first cataract he had to remain during a night without provisions or attendance. In the attempt to pass the second, the boat in which he was seated was dashed violently on the rocks, and it was with difficulty that he effected his escape, while the vessel was carried away by the current. On the 11th November the cataract of Anneck was reached: it appears from the narrative that this was the first attempt that was ever made to pass it. From Dongola he went across the desert of Kartoum, the capital of Sennaar, on the confluence of the Blue and the White Nile. He proceeded along the Blue Nile, and there was joined by some pupils of the schools of language and mineralogy. At Fazoglo, hearing of depredations committed according to custom by a tribe of mountaineers on their more feeble neighbours, he despatched a force against them, under the command of a superior officer, who returned with 540 prisoners. His Highness had them brought before him, and spoke to them at great length on the odiousness and barbarity of stealing and selling their fellow-creatures. Then, wishing to join example to precept, he permitted them to depart, after having distributed to every one ten days’ provisions, and given dresses to five of the chiefs. Learning that some prisoners had been taken at Kordofan, he ordered them to be dismissed, with permission to return home, or to establish themselves as cultivators on the banks of the White Nile, issuing at the same time a manifesto, declaring that slave-hunting was strictly forbidden, and that if any quarrels should arise between neighbouring tribes, their differences were to be brought before the Governor-general, who was commissioned to decide them.

At length he arrived at the mouth Fazangoro, where, after inspecting the gold mines, he laid the foundation of a town which is to be called by his own name, Mahomet Ali, and to contain houses for fifteen hundred families. The chiefs of the country showed

their readiness to co-operate with him, by offering a much larger force for the working of the mines: this, however, he declined. We are expressly told that he pays his workmen wages, and provides them with dresses adapted to the climate; also, that he granted land to the Arab agriculturists for the formation of model farms, supplied them with the necessary implements and animals, and declared them to be exempt from taxes for five years. The land of Sennaar is extremely fertile; it readily returns sixty for one; the dourah grows quickly and produces very rich ears; animals and wood abound; cotton succeeds wonderfully, almost without costs; and it produces more wool than that of Egypt, which is cultivated at a great expense. Hitherto, however, cultivation has been entirely neglected. The Pasha collected round him a great number of the shiekhs, made them presents, and addressed them in a speech, remarkable not only for its good sense, but for the quarter from whence it was delivered.—“The people of other parts of the world were formerly savages: they have had instructors, and by labour and perseverance they have civilized themselves. You have heads and hands like them—do as they have done. You also will raise yourselves to the rank of men—you will acquire great riches, and will taste enjoyments of which you can at present, from your profound ignorance, form no conception. Nothing is wanting for this purpose: you have a great quantity of land, cattle, and wood; your population is numerous, the men strong, and women fruitful. Up to the present time you have had no guide: you have one now—it is I—I will lead you to civilisation and happiness. The world is divided into five great parts; that which you occupy is called Africa. In every country except this the value of labour is understood, and a taste for good and useful things prevails: men devote themselves with ardor to commerce, which produces wealth, pleasure, and glory—words which you cannot even comprehend. Egypt itself is not an extensive country; yet, thanks to labour and the industry of its inhabitants, it is rich and will become more so. Distant provinces are acquainted with it; and the territory of Sennaar, which is twenty times larger than Egypt, produces almost nothing, because its inhabitants remain as idle as if they were without life. Understand well that labour produces all things, and that without labour nothing can be had.”

His Highness then explained to them in detail the advantages of agriculture and commerce. His auditors, astonished at what they heard, begged him earnestly to take them into Egypt, that they might be instructed in those arts. “It would be better,” replied his Highness, “that you should send your children there; they will learn more easily, because they are younger, and will remain longer useful to these countries when they return to them. I will place them in my colleges: they will learn there all that is useful and ornamental. Be not uneasy about their welfare: they shall be my adopted children; and when they are sufficiently instructed in the sciences, I will send them back to be happiness to you and to these countries, and a glory to you.” The sheikhs very willingly accepted

the offer : every one wished to send his children into Egypt. The most powerful among them, named Abd-el-ka-diar, having no son, asked the favour for his nephew. His Highness then urgently recommended Ahmed Pasha to labour for the welfare and civilisation of these people ; and, for the purpose of encouragement, announced that he should himself return next year, in order to judge the progress that might be made, and incite them to fresh exertions.

The viceroy departed the next morning, and returned to Fazoglo on the 1st of February, when he renewed his exhortations to the sheikhs of that district, and proceeded to Kartoum, where he was delighted to find the good effects of his late visit, in some land being already in full cultivation. From thence he visited in like manner the White Nile, and, on returning to Kartoum, he set on foot the building of a Christian church. Before leaving the place, he proclaimed the freedom of trade in indigo, which the provinces of Dongola and Berber produce in considerable quantities, and ordered the Governor to supply implements and every thing necessary for the development of its cultivation. After which he embarked with his suite, leaving M. Lambert with the charge of making two reports—the one upon a projected rail-road in that part of the desert which separates Abu-Muhammed from Kurusku ; the other on the formation of a canal between the White River and Kordofan, destined to furnish water for the irrigation of the land, and to facilitate the carriage of the iron ore of the mines. The cataracts were repassed on his return ; and on the 14th of March the cannon of the citadel of Cairo announced to Egypt the return of the viceroy, after an absence of five months and four days.”

#### Art. IV. THE LATE GOVERNOR OF SIERRA LEONE

##### AND THE WESTERN AFRICAN KINGS AND CHIEFS.

Though expressions of kindness and good feeling towards our uncivilised fellow-subjects and neighbours, are to be found in many of the official documents of the Home Government and its dependencies, it is but seldom that we are cheered with evidence that any advantage to them is obtained or even attempted by our intercourse with them. It is therefore with no small pleasure that we read in the following addresses of our Western African fellow-subjects and allies, the results of the pacific and successful exertions of the late Governor of Sierra Leone, Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas Campbell, amongst the warlike tribes spread over several hundreds of square miles to the east of Sierra Leone. It is not for us to dive into the mysterious circumstances of his recall ; but we cannot suppress the expression of our regret that the continuance of peace and commercial intercourse, which he has been the means of establishing, should be so soon endangered.



Address from the kings and chiefs of the Mandingo, Timmanee, Limba, and Susa nations, assembled at Mabelly,\* in the Timmanee country, to His Majesty King William IV.

In the name of the most merciful God, may God bless our Lord Muhammad!

This from Alimam Dalla Muhammad, Alkadhi, Bey Kobolo, Bey Semira, Bey Kru, Bey Yosso, Bey Fonti, Bey Kamma, Massa Pakkey, Inkerry, Pa Suba, Fenda Mudie, Muhammad Bundo, Bey Yola, Krubah, Yotto, Alimam Kabba, Bey Yenka, Bokari Sury, and all the chiefs of the country, who have collected together to send this letter to his Majesty King William.

We beg to inform your Majesty what Henry Dundas Campbell has done. He has given liberty to our country; for before he came to the Timmanee country, the natives used to kill each other, and sell and buy each other; they committed all sorts of wickedness; they disturbed all the country, so that there was no safe place for quiet people to cultivate. Nobody could travel, for they disturbed every place; and these excesses were still committed when the kings of Sudan (Africa) met together and sent to Henry Dundas Campbell, who came and made a treaty and put a stop to the war, and they accepted his good regulations.

They thought it better to deliver into his hands all the countries which he had governed more than twelve months. The kings came to Campbell, and went back and said, "We never saw any man like this Henry Dundas Campbell." All the nations were praying for him; and those who heard them said, "It is true, for we never saw any one better than him among the kings."

May the Lord Almighty bless and protect him, and give him more power to do good! All the Christians who came with him were sick, except him alone. All the kings do not know how to thank him for what he has done to their countries. Fightings ceased; every one settled himself in his own place. He caused the land to be cultivated; all the roads are now open, and the people can buy and sell in safety. He spreads tranquillity everywhere. Many merchants came from the interior bringing goods. There is plenty of timber and cam-wood coming down the river.

I certify this to be a literal translation of the original, written in African Arabic.

(Signed)

C. RASSAM.†

This country was under Campbell's command more than twelve months, during which the people passed over it in safety.

\* An extensive territory on the Rokelle River.

† Mr. Christian Rassam is a native of Musul in Mesopotamia, translator of oriental languages to the Church Missionary Society in Malta, and interpreter to the late Euphrates expedition under Col. Chesnev.

Address from Abu Bakir, king of Timbi,\* and his people, to  
His Majesty King William IV.

In the name of the most merciful God, (praise be to God, to whom praises are due!) may the blessing and peace of God be on the best of his creatures.

After many compliments, Ameer-Almuminin, Abu Bakir, son of Imam Aladham, who fought very bravely for religion in the country of Timbo, and all his chiefs who were collected with him in the country of Timbo. May God Almighty bless the King William who lives in England, and whose village is London, and give him victory over all his enemies; and may the religion be propagated in his reign.

I beg to inform you, O king, that the Imam Abu Bakir, the king of Timbo, and all the kingdom of Foutah, humbly beseech your Majesty to bestow on them this favour, to appoint Campbell to be Governor in Sierra Leone, for he is the only one who labours for the prosperity and welfare of your colony.

He never acted unjustly with any native, nor injured any one; and because he is so just and good, all the natives of Timbo humbly beseech you, for the love of God and Muhammad, to leave him in Sierra Leone to exercise his governorship.

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To His Most Gracious Majesty William the Fourth, &c.

The Humble Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of your Majesty's Colony of Sierra Leone, on the western coast of Africa, trading to the Rokelle, in the Timmanee country, Most respectfully and dutifully sheweth—

That many of your Majesty's petitioners have been trading in the Rokelle for a number of years, which trade has been their principal means of subsistence; that for several years a very destructive warfare has been carried on between the native chiefs in the Timmanee country, (from which their trade was principally derived,) to their great loss and detriment; that several petitions have been addressed by your Majesty's petitioners to the respective Governors of your Majesty's said colony, for their interference, but no vigorous steps were taken to bring the parties together, until the year 1835, when, on a petition being transmitted to Governor Campbell upon the subject, he prevailed upon Alimam Dalla Muhammad, a most powerful chief, to proceed to Mabelly in the Rokelle, and a principal town in the Timmanee country, and summon the kings, chiefs, and head-men engaged in the war to desist from any further hostilities, and to meet the Governor at the said town, whither he proceeded in the month of March, 1836. After undergoing great personal risk, many privations and inconveniences, and much exposure, he succeeded, by his temperate firmness, in instilling confidence into the minds of the kings and chiefs engaged in the warfare, and he was unanimously chosen arbitrator between them, and their territories placed in his possession. To his decision

\* The capital of the Foutah nation.

the most implicit obedience has been paid, and trade and agriculture have again been resumed; and in the space of twelve months, during which the Governor has had charge of the country, plenty has succeeded to the absolute starvation which prevailed previous to Governor Campbell's interference.

That your Majesty's petitioners, in order to give a convincing proof of the beneficial effect which Governor Campbell's interference has had upon the trade of the Timmanee country, beg leave to state that no less a quantity of cam-wood (the staple commodity of the country) than 2000 tons has been taken to Sierra Leone from the Rokelle River alone, which, taken at an average of £15 per ton, would amount to the large sum of £30,000; that in stating this amount, your Majesty's petitioners are convinced that they have not exceeded the bounds of truth, but that they are considerably under the amount transported to Sierra Leone; that besides this immense addition to the cam-wood trade of the colony, a large supply of African teak timber, sufficient for the demand for the next twenty years, has been obtained by the opening of a creek in the Rokelle river, named the Rossolo; and although, from the late period at which permission to trade therein was granted in the last rainy season, (at which time alone timber can be floated out,) sufficient time was not afforded to get any very large quantity during this season, they are aware that great quantities of the finest teak in Africa are already cut down and purchased, ready to be brought out at the commencement of the next rainy season.

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Address from Traders on the Rokelle River to His Excellency  
Lieutenant-Governor Campbell.

SIR,—We, the undersigned, subjects of the colony of Sierra Leone, trading in the Rokelle river, having witnessed the great exertions which your Excellency has made, and the great perseverance and patience with which your Excellency has persisted in your endeavours to procure the re-establishment of peace in the Timmanee country, beg leave to address your Excellency, and to request that your Excellency will be pleased to accept our warmest acknowledgments of gratitude and thanks for the great benefits which you have conferred upon us.

For a series of upwards of twelve years the Timmanee country has been the seat of a dreadful warfare, during which period many of the undersigned have suffered the most serious privations, without the slightest security of person and property, and often been compelled to fly at night from their homes in a state of almost nudity. We cannot forbear, therefore, the expression of our gratitude, which is only equalled by our surprise at beholding the blessings of peace again restored to this unfortunate country, by your Excellency's interference and exertions.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed by the traders on the Rokelle River.)

Mabelly, Jan. 21, 1837.

## Art. V. CAPTAIN MACONOCHIE'S PLAN

FOR THE ORGANISATION OF THE NATIVES OF AUSTRALIA AS A POLICE.

Amongst the plans for the settlement and advancement of the uncivilised, which have been devised, but not as yet fairly put to the test of experiment, the following suggested by Captain Macnochie, is unquestionably one of the most practicable and feasible, and as it promises the greatest advantage to the whites as well as to the coloured population, it may be hoped it will meet but little opposition from the colonists.

Employing the natives as a trained police would keep them under the eye of the Government more effectually than can be done by the appointment of protectors. By giving them employment it will secure them against want and idleness, the grand incentives to depredation, since the extinction of the game upon which they were wont to exist. It will introduce a system of organisation, and habits of service and subordination, which must facilitate their subsequently filling any of the various stations of civilised society, and it must most effectually promote that kind of intercourse which it is so desirable yet difficult to establish. As respects the colonists, it will give them the security which they demand, and remove the necessity or plea for their bearing arms against the natives, either as individuals or in companies organised for the purpose.

It is true, that a very strong objection may be urged against the establishment of a military force of any kind; but this would equally apply to a white and to a coloured militia; indeed it is probable that there would be much less blood shed, were the latter alone employed. Moreover, it is not essential to the captain's plan that the natives, though organised and efficiently officered, should have a more warlike character than any efficient civil police.

*From the Austral-Asiatic Review, 16th Jan. 1838, published at Hobart Town.*

“ We have been favoured by Captain Macnochie, R. N., K. H., the private secretary to his Excellency the Governor, Sir John Franklin, with the following admirable paper as to the Aborigines of these colonies. Well known as are the philanthropic sentiments of that distinguished officer, those elicited on this occasion give him additional claims to the gratitude of every friend of the human race. It would be presumption in us to offer either addition to, or observations upon, what the enlightened writer has so forcibly set forth.

*To the Editor of Murray's Review.*

SIR,—The substance of the first part of the annexed paper was sent some months ago to Lord Glenelg and Sir Richard Bourke, by directions of the latter of whom, the experiment suggested by it is now trying on a small scale at Port Philip.

Under these circumstances, I think it may be useful to publish the whole theory on which the proposal is founded—partly to encourage adequate perseverance in the essay now making at Port



Philip—partly to procure a similar one to be made elsewhere ; and you will oblige me by allowing me to use your paper for the purpose.”

I am, &c.

ALEXANDER MACONOCHIE.

*Observations on the treatment of Aborigines, New South Wales.\**

It is difficult to consider the new colonies now in the act of being established along the coasts of Australia, without feeling a deep interest in the native tribes about to be brought in contact with them. In every previous instance of such contact, these tribes have been deeply injured—to such an extent, indeed, that it has been seriously and in truth, rationally and justly represented to a Committee of the House of Commons inquiring into the subject, that even the slave trade, with all its horrors, has not been such a scourge to humanity as the English colonising system.† Must these things, then, be here again acted? Because we want their territory; of which it is true they make but a very limited use, and which in their hands can never acquire its full value—must these other black families be exterminated like their predecessors in similar circumstances? Or may not some scheme be devised, founded on the peculiarity of their condition and circumstances, calculated to preserve and improve them, while we also benefit ourselves? And may not some general principles be deduced from this scheme, and others similar, and be employed for trying even themselves—on which native tribes may be managed generally, with advantage to themselves and benefit to the European communities settling among them? To these two last questions I beg to offer some replies.

I. It appears to me, that were the natives in the neighbourhood of our Australian colonies liberally enlisted in our public service, and regimented, (like the Sepoys in India, the Black Troops in Western Africa, and the Hottentots on the Caffre Frontier,) and thus formed into an active field police, we should be enabled, by this hold on them, both to preserve and improve them, and benefit ourselves essentially. They would require to be officered with white serjeants and corporals, who should be as much as possible interested in the successful management of their charge. A light, convenient, and somewhat ornamental dress should be also given them; and, breaking them into small parties, they should be kept much in the field and on the move—at first hunting, with their other duty, but gradually acquiring more and more precise notions of military duty as their education proceeded. Their families

\* “The expediency of placing men whom we seek to control and guide in situations in which good conduct and improvement are easy and natural to them, rather than in those in which the difficulties are so great that scarcely any care and no extremity of punishment can prevent misconduct and deterioration travailler avec la nature, must be the foundation of every system of moral influence.”—Note by Captain Maconochie.

† See Dr. Hodgkin's evidence before the Aboriginal Committee. Session 1836—7, pp. 454—8 of its Report.

meanwhile should be encouraged to settle in native villages under our protection; their children should be there educated; their general habits should be studiously improved; and their fathers and husbands, who should be frequently allowed to visit them, and who would be receiving their own education at the same time in the field, would insensibly assist in this work. Perhaps one or two mounted commissioned officers should be added to the whole, who attended by one or other of the little *pelotons* in turn, should ride about to inspect, encourage, train, and keep them in order. And the sum of benefit that might thus be derived might, I think, be analyzed as follows:—

1. A much more numerous, effective, and yet economical Field Police could be thus maintained, than by any other means. It would also be more steadily well-behaved than a Prisoner Police, otherwise so common in the Australian colonies. Both natives and stock-keepers would be effectually restrained by it; for from the number and activity of its parties it would be almost ubiquitous. Occasions of irregularity and dissension would be thus kept down, and runaway convicts would be certainly arrested by it.

2. The relative *status* of the black population would be thus raised in the estimation of the community; and a more universally civil and conciliating demeanor would consequently be maintained towards them. This is of great importance; human nature is raised by courtesy and respect, and is certainly depressed and demoralised by contempt.

3. The affections of natives thus treated would soon be warmly engaged to the whites generally, but especially to the government so employing and advancing them; and between themselves and their immediate officers there would soon be the strongest ties. Their hearts would be proportionally light and their improvement more rapid. They would be drawn upward both by feeling and ambition. Stupidity, obstinacy, or misconduct would be crimes, not as regarded themselves only, but as they displeased such good masters; and the silken cord would, as in every other case, be more effectual than the iron fetter.

4. Their erratic habits (the great stumbling-block usually in the way of civilising savage tribes) being on this system gratified, they would in other respects probably be thus much more teachable and scrupulously obedient than they are commonly found;—and habits of deference to command and direction, not requiring much sacrifice at first, would be confirmed by time, and might then be otherwise and more highly directed.

5. A knowledge of, and taste for European manners and civilization, would be thus extensively yet silently implanted, and the habits of order, concert, and decorum learnt and practised in the field, would probably sooner pervade their huts and family stations than is now thought possible. It is thus that sailors and soldiers almost invariably make good settlers; and the liberated Hottentots settled at Kat-river astonished even the most sanguine by their steadiness and industry.\*

\* Report of the Aboriginal Committee, p. 171, et al.

6. The observance of the forms of our religious worship, and gradually a perception of its truths, might thus also be early and extensively diffused. There is no strong countervailing superstition among the native Australians, as in Africa and India.

7. Habits of neatness, decency, and cleanliness, usually repugnant to savages, yet without which it may be confidently said that no great moral improvement can be effected in them, would be more easily and early acquiesced in when imposed as points of military discipline otherwise agreeable, than when otherwise suggested; and spirituous liquors and other improper indulgences could be thus more easily kept away.

8. The more distant native tribes, and even the members of the same communities not thus engaged, would be conciliated by seeing and hearing of this considerate and, as they would deem it, honourable treatment of their companions and equals. They would endeavour also not essentially to be left behind by them. They would thus copy, as far as they could, their newly-acquired habits, manners, and dress. They would try to get enlisted into their number; and for this purpose would recommend themselves to their common masters by activity, honesty, intelligence, fidelity, and such other virtues as were within their sphere. The whole imitative faculties of the race would be thus devoted to good, instead of, as now too often happens, to vice or folly; and the benevolent purpose for which a wise Providence has given to all savages a large endowment of these, viz. to assist in drawing them up the first steps of improvement, before their reason can be interested in the task, would be then served by them.

9. The security which the organization of such a force would bestow on the infant communities setting an example of it, need not be insisted on. Surprise and insurrection would be almost impossible with a stirring, active, attached, native guard.

Lastly. It would be something even to try a new experiment in a field where, above all others, a deviation from all plans seems desirable. It is perhaps a mistake, indeed, to call this plan new, because it is so only as proposing the benefit of the natives for its systematic, though not exclusive object; and otherwise, as already pointed out, it has been partially tried in India, Western and Southern Africa; and when carefully considered, it will be found also to embrace the principle which cemented and *alleviated* the conquests both of the Romans\* in ancient, and of Buonaparte in modern times. Yet new in this application of it, it might not, I admit, in the first instance, and while the details involved in it are wholly experimental, accomplish all that is here contemplated from it; but it would necessarily do some good, and lead to more; and much is on this subject required at our hands.

II. The next question, however, regards the general principles on which this or any similar scheme, however modified by peculiar circumstances, should in the main be founded, so as to meet either

\* Report of the Aboriginal Committee, p. 454.

the justice or expediency of any case ; and of these I think the following, not excluding others, are nearly incontestible.

1. When a new territory is occupied, and the original rights of the natives ranging over it are consequently infringed, the *first* claim to a share of its increased value is surely *theirs*? I do not mean that the proceeds of this should be gratuitously lavished on them ; (for that would be to injure, not to serve them ;) but they should be considered as having an admitted right to have such portion freely expended on them, as can really be shown to be calculated to do them good. Even when this is deducted, there will always be found in judicious colonisation a large balance for ourselves ; and besides that, what will actually benefit the natives will benefit us also ; this will give us a *right* which, without it, it would be difficult to prove that we possess, to appropriate either the land or the remainder.

2. The use to which we put the native portion should be of a nature to raise their relative *status* with regard to us, and not merely protect them in their inferiority. The first will make men of them—the second merely contemplates keeping them out of harm's way, as children ; and I do not think it possible to attach too much importance to the distinction.

3. Speaking generally, they should be encouraged to *intermingle* with the white population, and be employed with them, rather than have separate stations assigned them. It may no doubt be necessary occasionally, where enmity, jealousy, and their dividing and demoralising fruits have long prevailed, for a time to qualify this position, (as for example at present on the Caffre frontier ;) but as a principle it is not less certain than the others. Intermingling gives the attitude of confidence ; separation that of distrust ; and the feelings will follow their respective indications, of whatsoever kind.

4. The employments selected for natives under this system should, as much as possible in the beginning, be analagous to their original habits ; yet they should not be allowed even from the first to act in them capriciously. The lighter the early tie the better ; but there will be no real advantage gained till it become sufficiently heavy to be distinctly recognised. The first of manly virtues and the foundation for all the others, is the *self-command* implied by the voluntary performance of what is yet felt to be a task.

5. Much of the benefit to be derived from intermingling them with whites is founded, indeed, on this principle. They will imitate them in every thing, even in early submission to restraint ; and the chief care will be that these whites shall give them as few worse and as many other equally good lessons as possible.

6. In dealing with human children of all ages and states of society, much virtue will be always found in a distinguishing dress. It operates both as an incentive and preservative, and habits of order, method, cleanliness, concert, union, are all reinforced by it. It cultivates also *amour propre*, (self-respect,) a useful, sometimes irritable, but otherwise seldom steady principle among savages. They are themselves, indeed, so sensible of the direct effect of a dress, that many have a particular one for different occasions.



7. When some little authority can be blended with usefulness in employment, I am persuaded that there will always be found an advantage. Hence, though I would by no means insist on all savages, however different in circumstances, being treated precisely as I recommend the Australians to be, I yet think that the police will be found generally a good employment. It has been found to answer extremely well on a small scale among the Van Diemen's Land Aborigines in Flinder's Island; and although less successful in New South Wales, that arises chiefly from the peculiarly imperfect manner in which it has been there tried. It should be a *preventive* rather than a *remedial* police, however; and I am certain that this distinction will be found an important one.

8. Wherever savages are employed, as much attention as possible should be paid to their own distinction of rank. Castes, on the contrary, I should be rather disposed to intermingle. Their chiefs should thus be made officers, or otherwise superior to, or equal with some whites; and equality and amalgamation should in this way be studied as much as possible, without any factitious distinctions or difference even in the mode of protection. I most cordially agree with Captain Stockenstrom's opinion,\* that protectorships are bad things as implying inferiority, and that the forms of justice and protection should be the same to all.

9. A sincere, and not merely an assumed interest, should be taken in natives thus sought to be brought in. They cannot long be imposed on in this respect; and giving their own hearts, as they will all do freely, their disappointment and resentment when indifference is shown to their *real* grievances will always be proportionate. Their diseases, therefore, should be energetically cured—their substantial comforts should be attended to—their marriage ties and domestic usages should be respected—their children should be noticed as well as educated—their sports, and even in moderation their jokes, should be smiled at—their superstitions, if they have any, should be discouraged, and not rudely trampled on. Some tact, some firmness, some intelligence and discrimination will no doubt be necessary, to draw a precise line between these attentions and an undignified compliance with pure caprices, which will impair respect, and do harm rather than good. But there is no task in life the successful execution of which is not more or less dependent on the presence or absence of these qualities; and the proportion of them required here is not more than is requisite to make a good father, master, officer, or to fill creditably any other situation in which human beings are to be *influenced* as well as controlled.

10. Their superstitions, then, while retained, should be respected; but systematic efforts should be at the same time made to wean them from them, and convert them to Christianity. Setting aside all higher considerations, (which yet are of themselves imperative,) there is no bond of social union stronger than a community of worship, nor any civiliser like a perception of Christian faith and

\* Report of Aborigines Committee, p. 187.

morals. I am very strongly opposed, however, to any thing approaching to compulsion in this department. It is said that some missionaries in the South Sea Islands compel their Neophytes even by blows to attend their ministrations ; but such devices belong essentially to men who desire the outward form of obedience for their own gratification, and are comparatively indifferent to the moral impression which they may or may not make. Mr. Daniel Wheeler, when he confirmed this anecdote to me, added " that he found in his Bible that on one occasion our Saviour had scourged out of the temple, but not that he had so compelled any into it ;" and I most cordially assent to the commentary thus suggested. It is the heart that is here wanted, and compulsory measures always alienate it. It is *bread* that should be sought to be given, not a stony ceremonial, inspiring no attachment, counteracting no superstition or other evil influence, exciting no enthusiasm, and thus really unable, however excellent that which it represents, to contend successfully with any belief, however absurd, which, from its accommodation to the rude intellects entertaining it, is yet in them a living principle, and by so much better than any dead image.

10. I am also of opinion, that in attempts to civilise and convert native tribes, systematic efforts should be always made to teach them English ; and that translations even of the Bible into their own language are of very doubtful utility. The Creator himself seems to indicate this course, by the facility in acquiring languages which he has uniformly bestowed on savage man ; and which is in truth but a branch of that great power of imitation with which he is universally endowed, the object of which has already been adverted to and cannot be mistaken. But other strong arguments can also be advanced in favour of this course. The object is to raise the native, not to descend to his level, or apparently even below it, by imperfect and therefore necessarily in many cases ludicrous efforts to use his jargon. In learning English also many ideas, abstract and others, will be acquired insensibly, the opportunity for conveying which is lost by communicating through the medium of native tongues. A habitual, yet gradual, and as is proved by the success of classical education among ourselves, a beneficial exercise of the young native mind will be thus afforded maturing its reason. The intellectual field into which it will thus be introduced will be more extensive than any labour of translation can afford. It is more calculated to excite imagination, to stimulate ambition, and to wean from barbarous associations. It would be easy, but seems unnecessary, to pursue the argument farther.

In conclusion—the great principles of native treatment are thus—*their exaltation, intermixture with ourselves, beneficial employment, religious conversion, instruction in our language*, and thereby the *progressive development of their mind and understanding*—nor I am persuaded will any benevolent and *hopeful* spirit fail with them, if it keep these ends in view. In considering the subject, however, the importance of *hopefulness* in dealing with them is well worthy of this separate notice. In the beginning it will be

necessary in many cases even to "hope against hope;" for in this, as in so many other fields of moral labour, the first steps are the really difficult ones, being often long without their reward. Yet, if persevered in, they are sure of ultimate success. We see in children, up to a certain point, the same vacillation, unsteadiness, perverseness, inaccessibility to intellectual impression, and dislike to the effort of learning, with which savages are habitually reproached; and we may be assured that the same patient, persevering, parental, and *inventive* zeal which overcomes these qualities in the one, will not fail eventually to overcome them in the other also.

The substance, in whole or in part, of the preceding paper having been communicated to some private and other friends, the following extracts from letters received in reference to it, seem also interesting:—

(1.) Sydney, June 6, 1837.

I have so far entered into your views respecting the aboriginal natives, as to employ them in the constabulary. I am inclined to think very well of the mode of management you propose.

(Signed)

RICHARD BOURKE.

(2.) Sydney, August 14, 1837.

It would give me real pleasure to see such an experiment as you propose tried among the black population. It is the most plausible that has ever met my eye, and its success would bring everlasting blessings on the head of its projector; and even were its appearance less promising, I think that, regarded as an experiment only, it ought to be tried. It is a case in which the usual economical considerations ought to have no weight—in which a chance of success ought to justify any expenditure of means. Obtaining, as we do, from the lands of their country hundreds of thousands per annum, a tithe of this revenue is the least that ought to be spent for the benefit of its aboriginal inhabitants. Success ought, of course, to be the end, so far as to induce choice of the probable means; but even despair of success ought not to excuse us from trying the best, and satisfying, by the effort at least, some part of our national responsibility. No one can be entitled to say that the money is squandered, who is not prepared to show that it could have been better bestowed *on the natives*.

But I agree fully with you—indeed it was a principle already firmly established with me, that little permanent good can be done with the natives, unless they can be induced to enter in some way into our service, and form in this way their own chance for civilization. By setting an example of this mutual advantage in your proposed engagement of the natives by the government, the way may be prepared for introducing generally, between them and Europeans, the relation of servant and master; and if a benevolent feeling towards them can be cultivated, in connexion with this relationship, it will be of infinitely more value than any scheme depending on benevolence, unaided by self-interest. In such a

scheme you can only engage a few high-minded, self-sacrificing devotees ; in the other case you receive the co-operation of the whole mass of good sort of men. It seems to me that the main business of a wise and good statesman is to discover, on the chart of human life, the lines in which public and private interest coincide ; and to guide every thing into those directions in which virtue may find her sails filled as it were by a trade wind. I believe that in compassion to human infirmity, these trade winds are far more numerous on the moral globe than we are at present aware ; and I trust, that under the influence of more enlightened legislation, the advantage of them, hitherto too often both neglected and frustrated by governments, will be after felt.

J. R. HOLDEN.\*

(3.) Hobart Town, Dec. 28, 1837.

I beg leave to return you herewith your "observations on the treatment of Aborigines in new colonies," with many thanks for the loan of them. In reading that portion of the remarks which speaks of enlisting natives, I was at once reminded of its effects at Sierra Leone, and other places on the Western Coast of Africa. A black recruiting sergeant goes into the "liberated African yard," and by means of an interpreter explains to those emancipated negroes the nature of military employment, and at the same time offers to take with him such as express a desire to enter the service. These men in the course of time get married, and become as much or even more attached to the Europeans than they were before to their own rulers. At Sierra Leone, however, they labour under this disadvantage, that the sergeants and corporals are black men, and though very *willing* are not *able* to give that instruction to the privates which a white sergeant would, and the officers take *no* interest or trouble in the matter. But at Cape Coast Castle there is a noble example of the success of your plan. There the soldiers are all under a white sergeant, who, owing to the absence of any superior officer, had for a long time the entire management of the troops ; and at the time that I arrived there, about August 1836, Captain Spinks, who had only been there one month, and who consequently could claim to himself no credit for the discipline and organization of the soldiers, had the troops out two or three separate times for the kind purpose of gratifying my curiosity. The movements they went through were highly creditable both to themselves and their serjeant, and I was much struck with the attachment they all seem to feel towards him.

One more fact I may mention is, that on Sundays, when the troops go to church, nearly all their wives and families go also, and sit in a place set apart for them ; and although two-thirds of these poor creatures do not understand one word of the service, they make a point of attending regularly, with no other apparent object than that of showing their respect and attachment to the Europeans. I

\* Private Secretary to Sir Richard Bourke.



may also add, that many of these soldiers are from the country of the Ashantees, whose name has become so well known from their hostility to Europeans; and to this enlisting of them in a great measure is attributed the harmony and amity which now prevail between the two parties. The European merchants go up to the great town of Ashantee with as little danger as they would go from any one town in England to another; and the Ashantees feel equal security in coming down to Cape Coast Castle unarmed, only carrying in their hands a staff, with a silver or gold knob, according to their rank, to show that they are Ashantees.

P. BARROW.\*

Since this extract was taken from the "Austral-Asiatic Review," we have received the very important and valuable work of Captain Maconochie, in which these observations are repeated, with some further testimonials in their favour. It is entitled "Australiana, by Captain Maconochie, R. N. J. W. Parker, West Strand."

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#### Art. VI. CANADIAN INDIANS.

*Extract of a Letter from John Sunday to Sir Augustus d'Este.*

Dear Brother,—I was very sorry when I saw the Lake Simcoe and Cold Water Indians wandering about from one island to another as the white people have dispossessed them of their lands. When they saw me they inquired whether the order to go away from their lands is from England. I told them that this order is unknown in England; and after I read your kind speech to them their troubled minds were greatly relieved. The head chiefs, Yellow Head, John Assance, Assenauk and Wage-mahkang of French River, and Shen-quakonce of St. Marie, send their hearty and sincere thanks for the kindness you give them. The Indians of Alderville I am happy to say are yet sincere and faithful in serving the Lord, not weary yet in well-doing. So at River Credit, Muncy Town, St. Clair, Saugeeng, Cold Water, Lake Simcoe, St. Marie, Lake Superior and Rice Lake, and other places, dear brother, the Christian Indians are as sincere in cultivating their clearings as they are in serving the Lord. Col. Jarvis, superintendent of the Indian affairs at Toronto, visited us at Alderville last fall, and took a short survey of our village; and seeing so much clearing done in the place, he inquired how long since we settled here, and he was surprised to hear that in eighteen months so much improvement had been done by Indians; and before he left us, he declared he was very glad to see the Indians desirous of being farmers. They raise considerable wheat, corn, potatoes, and vegetables, of every kind, which we never did in our pagan state.

We have been called out by the authorities to assist in repelling any invasion from the rebels; for we are very sure we would be the

\* Son of Sir John Barrow, Bart., Secretary to the Admiralty, &c.

most miserable creatures in the world, if the British Government would happen to give place to a republic. We do not know whether this country will be taken or not. I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. John Bull in England. His very big head, his long horns. I think if he moves his head it will do a great deal; but we hope the Lord will again help us with his interposition, and give us peace. The Indians have all joined with me in shaking hands with our English friends. We shake hands with them from the bottom of our hearts, those who are interested in the cause of the poor Aborigines of this country.

I hope the good people in England and Canada will still think of the poor wandering people of the wilderness, so that hundreds, instead of a dozen or two, may be taught useful things.

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*Extract of a Letter from Peter Jones, of the River Credit Settlement, to Sir Augustus d'Este.*

“I hope no more attempts will be made to separate these colonies from the mother country. All the Indians have been commanded by the Lieutenant-Governor to hold themselves in readiness, in case their services should be required for the defence of the province.

We are more and more convinced that in order to raise the Indian character, manual labour schools must be established amongst them. Could not our Quaker friends in London and the vicinity do something towards supporting such a school at this mission? Ever since the days of William Penn, the Society of Friends have been warm friends to the red man of the forest; and the Indians to this day respect the white men who wear the broad-brimmed hats. The Indians themselves are willing to contribute out of their scanty means for such an object. If the Quakers felt disposed to assist in the support of such an institution, I should feel great pleasure to report to them from time to time of the progress the children might make in their education, and in the attainment of useful trades.”

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*Extract of a Letter from the Rev. J. Thomson, Sandwich, Upper Canada, July 18, 1839.*

“Soon after breakfast I had the pleasure of meeting a number of the Indians in their chapel, to the amount of eighty, of all ages. This was their usual morning service. The average attendance is about thirty, the missionaries informed me; but the sound of the stranger's arrival well nigh trebled the usual number. I saluted these Red men as my brethren, being all made, as I said to them, of one blood by the God and Father of all.

On the following day, at the same hour, we met again, and held what I might call a Bible meeting, and with the intention of form-

ing, should the thing take with the Indians, a Bible association among them; and the thing took to admiration. The Indians formed themselves into a Bible association forthwith and cheerfully. When I had done speaking, I desired them to talk among themselves upon the subject, and to conclude for or against the thing proposed to them, just as they felt inclined. They talked with each other, and Mr. Luckenbach (a Moravian missionary who has been stationed there for 19 years) shortly addressed them; and the result was, as I have stated, the formation of a Bible association. I had suggested to them, should they agree to the proposal brought before them, that they should subscribe half a dollar a year each, or a shilling or less, just as they were disposed and had means. One of the chiefs had his name put down first, and, neglecting my suggestion of half-a-dollar, he doubled it of his own accord, and said, "Put me down for a dollar." The second chief then said, "Put me down also for a dollar." The interpreter, who was the third person called upon, said, "I will give two dollars *because* I can read." The fourth individual said, "I have given away a good deal of money for bad purposes, I will now give something for a good purpose; put me also down for two dollars." Several others followed for lesser sums, but above what could have well been expected. At the close of our speaking, and just as we were beginning to put down subscriptions, all the women decamped, which led one of the men to say, that the squaws went off as soon as they heard of the money. I must justify the squaws, however, alias, Indian women. It is true they did all move off, two excepted, when the money was spoken of; but after we had taken down all the men's names who subscribed, and had retired to the house, by-and-by in came a squaw of her own proper accord, and for the purpose of having her name put down as a subscriber. She had a dollar put down for herself, and then she gave the names of her two children for one shilling each. Another squaw came in some little time after, and had her name put down for three shillings, then one of her children for a shilling; a second for the same sum; then a third, a fourth, and a fifth. Other women followed, and had their own and their children's names put down. The putting of their children's names down was their own suggestion, and they did so remarking that they wished that their children should have a blessing, through a participation in this good work, as well as themselves. On one of the occasions when we were taking down the names of these women and their children, a woman present said she had nothing to give, or she would have her name put down also. On second thought she said she could make a broom, for which she could get sixpence—"Put me down," she said, "for sixpence." Another woman present said, "I can make two brooms; put me down for a shilling." Lastly a man came in to subscribe who had not been at the meeting at all, but who had had matters rehearsed to him by some of the other Indians. Other individuals we heard of also who intimated that they would subscribe. The missionaries are to bring the subject further before the people,

and in the course of a week or ten days they are to write to me, giving me the names and sums of all the subscribers. When I get this paper I will send you a copy of it. Thus was formed our second Bible Society among the Red men, the Aborigines of North America. I hope we shall have others in due time."

The preceding extracts leave no room to doubt the readiness that exists on the part of the Canadian Indians to seek and profit by opportunities for intellectual improvement and religious instruction. Whilst J. Thomson's anecdote is particularly interesting on the latter account, it suggests an inquiry whether, if the acceptance of their contributions to the Bible Society is not associated with adequate care to impart instruction in reading, it will not be virtually having the effect of benefiting some churches by robbing others. It does not appear that more than one of the subscribing Indians was able to read, or that the subscription was made with a view to receiving bibles in return. We do not offer these remarks with the least desire to censure or limit the exertions of the Bible Society's agent, who has long been the zealous friend of the natives of America, but merely as a stimulus to those who may desire that the work may not be left in an imperfect state.

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#### Art. VII. UNITED STATES INDIANS.

*Extracts from the private Journal of Dr. Foville, while on a Tour with the Prince de Joinville.*

"About eight o'clock we perceived the city of Buffalo, situated towards the eastern extremity of Lake Erie. Buffalo is seen from a distance. The steeples, covered with zinc, sparkle in the sun. We soon disembarked, and we could then more closely admire the city, the elegant and new houses of which indicate its youth. At ten o'clock we went with the prince in a carriage to visit some Indians settled some miles in the country. We met on our road a considerable number of these men, clothed something like our peasants; but their red skin, their characteristic features, their dark, straight, and shining hair, will not admit of their being confounded with the men of any other race. Each time that we met a new group, or another individual of this family, we were struck with the great analogy which exists between their physical character and that of the Indians of Guiana, whom we have visited in their undisturbed forests on the banks of the rivers of South America. The route which we are following separates fields cultivated by men of the red race. In seeing the country in such a state of cultivation, we can easily believe what we have been told in favour of the intelligence of these Indians. These men have schools and churches, and show an aptitude to excel in all respects. We went into one of their houses. We found it neatly kept. The inhabitants received us with politeness. The prince bought some moccasins of



soft leather, ornamented with a border not devoid of elegance. Each of us wished to take with him something which might recall the recollection of his visit. We paid for our purchases with French money. The Indians know very well the value of this money, so as to calculate how much was required to equal the sum demanded in American currency. All they said to us was well expressed. I have never seen any European farm where the dairy was kept more neatly than the one adjoining the house into which we went. In the afternoon we heard from the French settled at Buffalo great praise of these Indians. On another occasion the son of our illustrious Guy Lussac assured us, that during a residence of some months amongst the men of the red race, he had found in them excellent moral qualities and great intelligence. Must we not, with these data, believe that they are called to partake of the benefits of the civilisation which the European races have transported into North America? Such is not the condition which the Government of the United States is now preparing for them. In spite of themselves the land which they cultivate is bought, and these unfortunate people are embarked on the lakes, and then on the Ohio and Mississippi, to go into the remote regions of the west, to seek a new soil, which they are permitted to occupy till the progress of the European race drives them still farther back and completes their extermination."

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*Extract of a Letter, dated 11th 8mo., 1839, Hamburgh, New York, by Charles Meatyard.*

"Friends are still using exertions for the benefit of the Indians in this neighbourhood. A short time ago a number of Friends from Philadelphia and New York waited on the President, when they represented the case of the Indians to him. He appeared favourable to them, and informed the Friends that the Secretary of War, who has also the management of Indian concerns, was about to visit the Indians in New York, so as to get correct information as to the wishes of the Indians on the subject of emigration. He concluded by inviting Friends to send a deputation of their body to attend the council with the Secretary, to see that justice is done the Indians. The council will be held to-morrow at Cattaragus, about twenty miles from Hamburgh. The deputation, consisting of twenty, reached the place of destination yesterday. I hope they will be able to bring about a settlement of the Indian question as it respects these tribes: they are a deeply injured people."

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#### Art. VIII. CHEROKEES.

*From the "Friend," 10th 8mo.*

"The last chapter in the melancholy history of the Cherokee nation is not yet; but from recent occurrences, detailed in divers newspaper paragraphs, it would seem that the period is fast approaching when they may become an extinct people. Notwith-

standing the plausible representations which from certain quarters were made, that the condition of these persecuted Indians would eventually be improved by their removal from their comfortable, prosperous, and long cherished homes at and near Echota, to the cheerless wilderness country to which they were *virtually banished*, we could not but fear that those flattering expectations would be found altogether delusive, and that the rapid approximation of the white settlements, and the promptings of grasping cupidity, would ere long produce the disturbances and troubles and heart-burnings, to escape which was the only consolation and inducement in the change. These gloomy forebodings, it appears, have now been realized. It will be remembered by our readers, that prior to the removal the Cherokees were divided into two parties. The Ridge party, headed by John Ridge and Boudinot, who were in favour of the treaty so unfairly extorted by the agent of the United States Government; and the Ross party, the most numerous and respectable, at the head of which was the celebrated chieftain John Ross, who, with such perseverance and superior ability, opposed the adoption of that treaty. The seeds of dissension thus sown before their emigration, took deep root in the new location, and since have ripened into open and bloody warfare. Some weeks since information was received that Boudinot, Ridge, and the father of the latter, had been murdered by the opposite party. Later accounts say that the Ridge party had subsequently rallied, and 'marched upon the Ross party; a battle ensued, which resulted in loss on both sides, variously estimated at from 40 to 70 lives. Ross was among the slain," \*

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#### Art. IX. INDIANS OF THE FAR WEST.

*From the "Friend," 10th 8mo.*

"The Blackfoot is a sworn and determined foe to all white men, and he has often been heard to declare that he would rather hang the scalp of a "pale face" to his girdle, than kill a buffalo to prevent his starving.

The hostility of this dreaded tribe is, and has for years been proverbial. They are, perhaps, the only Indians who do not fear the power, and who refuse to acknowledge the superiority of the white man; and though so often beaten in conflicts with them, even by their own mode of warfare and generally with numbers vastly inferior, their indomitable courage and perseverance still urges them on to renewed attempts; and if a single scalp is taken, it is considered equal to a great victory, and is hailed as a presage of future and more extensive triumphs.

It must be acknowledged, however, that this determined hostility does not originate solely in savage malignity, or an abstract thirst

\* John Ridge laboured to obtain better terms from the United States Government; and failing in this attempt, he ought not to be regarded as a traitor to his countrymen for endeavouring to direct their movements when exiled.

for the blood of white men ; it is fomented and kept alive from year to year by incessant provocations on the part of white hunters, trappers, and traders, who are at best but intruders on the rightful domains of the red man in the wilderness. Many a night have I sat at the camp fire, and listened to the recital of bloody and ferocious scenes, in which the narrators were the actors and the poor Indians the victims ; and I have felt my blood tingle with shame and boil with indignation, to hear the diabolical acts applauded by those for whose amusement they were related. Many a precious villain and merciless marauder was made by these midnight tales of rapine, murder, and robbery ; many a stripling, in whose tender mind the seeds of virtue and honesty had never germinated, burned for an opportunity of loading his pack-horse with the beaver skins of some solitary Blackfoot trapper, who was to be murdered and despoiled of property he had acquired by weeks and perhaps months of toil and danger.

Acts of this kind are by no means unfrequent, and the subjects of this sort of atrocity are not always the poor and despised Indians ; white men themselves often fall by the hands of their companions, when by good fortune and industry they have succeeded in loading their horses with fur. The fortunate trapper is treacherously murdered by one who has eaten from the same dish and drunk from the same cup ; and the homicide returns triumphantly to his camp with his ill-gotten property. If his companion be inquired for, the answer is that some days ago they parted company, and he will probably soon join them.

The poor man never returns ; no one goes to search for him ; he is soon forgotten, or is only remembered by one more steadfast than the rest, who seizes with avidity the first opportunity which is afforded of murdering an unoffending Indian in revenge for the death of his friend."

*From the "Friend," 10th 8mo.*

"On the 23rd a Ney Percé Indian, belonging to Mr. McKay's company, visited us. He is one of the several hunters who have been sent from the fort on the same errand as ourselves. This was a middle aged man, with a countenance in which shrewdness or cunning and complaisance appeared singularly blended. But his person was a perfect wonder, and would have served admirably for the study of a sculptor. The form was perfection itself. The lower limbs were entirely naked, and the upper part of the person was only covered by a short checked shirt. His blanket lay by his side as he sat with us, and was used only while moving. I could not but admire the ease with which the man squatted on his haunches immediately as he alighted ; and the position both of body and limbs was one that probably no white man unaccustomed to it could have endured for many minutes together. The attitude and indeed the whole figure was graceful and easy in the extreme ; and on criticising his person one was forcibly reminded of the Apollo Belvidere of Canova. His only weapons were a short bow and half-a-dozen arrows, a scalping knife, and tomahawk ; with these, how-

ever weak and insignificant as they seemed, he had done good service, every arrow being smeared with blood to the feathers. He told Richardson that he and his three or four companions had killed about 60 buffalos, and that now, having meat enough, they intended to return to their camp to-morrow.

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Art. X. SEMINOLES.

NEWS FROM FLORIDA.

St. Augustine, (E. F.,) August 3, 11 A.M.

*The War Renewed.*

“The following account of the treacherous surprise of Colonel Harney’s command reached here this morning, by express. Colonel Gates, commanding east of the St. John’s, has transmitted orders for immediate defence of the posts south.\*

Assistant Adjutant-General’s Office,  
Army of the South. Fort Brooke (E. F.,) July 29.

Sir,—It becomes my painful duty to inform you of the assassination of the greater part of Lieutenant-Colonel Harney’s detachment, by the Indians, on the morning of the 23rd instant, on the Coleosahatchie River, where they had gone in accordance with the treaty at Fort King, to establish a trading house. The party consisted of about eighteen men, armed with Colt’s rifles; they were encamped on the river, but unprotected by defences of any kind, and it is said without sentinels. The Indians in large force made the attack before dawn of day; and it is supposed thirteen men were killed, among whom were Major Dalham and Mr. Morgan, settlers.

The remainder, with Colonel Harney, escaped, several of them severely wounded. It was a complete surprise. The commanding general therefore directs that you will instantly take measures to place the defences at Fort Mellon in the most complete state of repair, and be ready at all times to repel an attack should one be made. No portion of your command will in future be suffered to leave the garrison except under a strong escort. The detachment at Fort Maitland will be immediately withdrawn. Should Fort Mellon prove unhealthy, and the surgeon recommend its abandonment, you are authorized to transfer the garrison, and reinforce some of the neighbouring posts.

I am, Sir,

G. H. GRIFFIN,

Assistant Adjutant-General.

Lieut. W. E. Hanson, Commander of Fort Mellon.”

\* Much as this attack on the part of the Indians is to be deplored, it ought not to excite surprise after the example which had been set them in the base and cowardly capture of Oleola and his companions. It is a strange argument, that because there is a strong suspicion of right on their side they must be exterminated.



This settles the question. General Macomb's treaty must now be considered as a mere nullity; and, painful though it, the government and the people must make up their minds to carry on the war, at whatever cost, until the Indians are exterminated. It is an awkward dilemma for us to be placed in—a hard choice we have to make, between the continuance of such a war, and the open acknowledgment of defeat by a handful of marauding savages, with strong suspicions of right on their side, and not on ours. But such is the choice before us; and so far as we individually are concerned, there is no hesitation about taking the first alternative."

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#### Art. XI. THE TEXIAN INDIANS.

"I would earnestly recommend that proper attention should be paid by the emigrant to a harmless and inoffensive class called Indians. They are truly valuable, and the country may be made rich by them ere long; for the smallest trifle they can bring in thousands of hides of all descriptions, horse-hair, horns, feathers, and above all, immense quantities of furs. Their furs last season sold for nearly £100,000 sterling. When in Texas I always employed the chief's son to split wood and carry water: finer men I never saw.

I am sorry to say that the Americans have not used them well; they have never known their value. In Texas the Indians may amount to from fifty to sixty thousand, and a great and profitable trade could be carried on with them. They are nearly all naked; but they have enough ambition to dress had they the means, but no person will buy their hides, &c.

I have seen a poor Indian sell a fish for one shilling that a white person would charge five for. They are wretchedly paid for their labour. Every emigrant in good circumstances might keep one of them for the purpose of killing game for his table."—*Dr. Adamson's Account of the Texas.*

#### FROM TEXAS.

##### *Battle between the Texian Troops and the Indians.*

"The following highly interesting letter to the editor of the *New Orleans Bee* was received by the steamer *Velocipede*, from Red River:—

"Natchitoches, July 25, 1839.

"Gentlemen,—Enclosed you will herewith receive an official report of an engagement which took place on the 15th instant, and a letter from General Rusk, dated the 17th instant, seventy-five miles north-west of Nacogdoches, Texas, between a large body of the Cherokees, Caddos, and other Indians, and the troops under the command of Brigadier General K. H. Douglas, from which it will be seen the enemy sustained a heavy loss."

Taken from the *Red Lander*, a newspaper published at San Augustine, Texas, dated July 20, 1839:—

“Head Quarters, Camp Carter, July 16, 1839.

“To the Hon. Sydney Jenson, Secretary of War.

“Sir,—On yesterday the negociation on the part of the commissioners having failed under your order, the whole force was put in motion towards the encampment of Bowles, on the Neches. Col. Landrum crossed on the west side of the Neches, and marched up the river, the regiment under Colonels Burleson and Rusk moved directly to the camp of the Bowles.

“Upon reaching it, it was found to be abandoned. Their trail was ascertained, and a rapid pursuit made. About six miles above their encampment, in the vicinity of the Delaware village, at the head of a prairie, they were discovered by the spy company, under Captain J. Carter, and a detachment of twenty-five men from Captain Todd’s company, led by General Rusk. The enemy displayed from the point of the hill. General Rusk motioned to them to come on. They advanced and fired four or five times, and immediately occupied a thicket or ravine on the left.

“As we advanced the lines were immediately formed, and the action became general. The ravine was instantly charged and flanked on the left by Colonel Burleson, and a part of his regiment; the rest of Burleson’s regiment were led by Lieutenant-Colonel Woodleff. A portion of General Rusk’s regiment charged at the same time, and another portion took a position on a point of a hill to the right, and drove a party who attempted to flank us from that quarter.

“Thus instantly driving the enemy from the ravine and thicket, leaving eighteen dead on the field, that have been found, and carrying off, as usual, their wounded, as was seen by our men.

“Our loss was, two killed, one wounded mortally, and five slightly, to wit:—D. H. Rogers, of Captain Tipp’s company; John Crane, of Harrison’s company; H. P. Cronson, of same; Hooper, H. M. Smith, and Ball, of Burleson’s command; James Anderson, of Captain Lewis’s company; Solomon Albright, of Captain Vansickle’s company; George S. Daughter, of Captain Box’s company, slightly.

“Captain Landrum was not able, having so much further to march, to participate in the engagements, but has been ordered to join this morning. All behaved so gallantly, that it would be invidious to particularize. The action commenced about half an hour before sunset, which prevented pursuit. Most of their baggage was captured, three kegs of powder, 250lb of lead, and many horses, cattle, corn, and other property. By order of X. H. Douglass, Brigadier-Gen. Com. T. A.

“JAMES S. MAYFIELD, Aide-de-Camp.”

A letter from General Rusk, dated the 17th instant, has also just reached this place, in which he remarks, “We have had another engagement to-day with the Indians, who occupied a very strong position. The contest lasted an hour and a half, when we charged and drove them from their station, in which, however, they sus-

tained considerable loss, the amount of which is not yet ascertained. Bowles was found among the dead."

Their number was very considerable, I think five or six hundred. Our loss was, two men killed, and upwards of twenty wounded; among whom was my brother and Major Augustine, of Santa Augustine county. We are happy to learn that every precaution has been taken to cut off the retreat of the enemy, and thereby prevent a protracted war. We shall anxiously wait further intelligence from that quarter, and will endeavour to keep our readers promptly and correctly advised on this important subject."

We will not attempt to offer any comment on the disgraceful complacency with which the Texians, themselves the intruders, regard the slaughter of the Aborigines of the country. The exemplary and notorious fidelity with which the Indians abide by treaties, when duly observed by the other party, leaves no room to doubt that were there a sincere desire on the part of the citizens of the new republic, to act honourably and generously towards the Indians, they might succeed in establishing peaceful and mutually advantageous relations with them. They would then be setting a bright example to older states. The commencement already made gives no sanction to such pleasing anticipations, and it is most likely that nothing short of speedy and complete extermination will satisfy the Texians.

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#### Art. XII. AFRICA.

*Extract of a Letter from Elliott Cresson to Dr. Hodgkin, Hartford, Connecticut, 6th 8mo., 1839.*

"Among other measures for the moral regeneration of Africa, I look for happy results from my long projected plan of a mission school at Bexley, under the patronage of the Episcopal church, which has been most favourably received at the general meeting of that influential body's Foreign Mission Committee a few weeks since; so that I hope our venerable and beloved President will ere long witness its auspicious commencement. The introduction of Arabic into its course of study promises to exert a powerful influence on a continent where the Mahometan priesthood have diffused that language so widely among the higher classes of society; and the very fact that the Copts and Abyssinians retain episcopal forms would give to those who shall go forth from its walls, ascend the St. John's, and cross to those regions, a warmer welcome than would be accorded to those of any other denomination. There is now here a most interesting young coloured man preparing for that region, whom I last winter introduced to the notice of the good bishop. He is the son of Hanson, an English resident at Acera, and his mother is a daughter of the king of Ashantee. Through his extensive knowledge of the various dialects, he can communicate with about eight millions of souls among whom he proposes

labouring. With such an institution as I propose, how many interesting individuals might be brought together—how much to illustrate the history and character of those now unexplored and dark regions. This surely is a scheme in which good men of the two nations may most cordially unite. Hanson has just completed a course of lectures on Africa, which attracted the company and excited the warm approval of the most distinguished individuals of this enlightened community.”

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I  
EXTRACTS

FROM THE

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

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Vol. I

No. V.

OCTOBER & NOVEMBER, 1839.

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LONDON:

WILLIAM BALL, ARNOLD, AND Co.

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1839.



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## Art. I. TREATMENT OF THE ABORIGINES.

The following extract from the first Report of the Commissioners for the Colonization of South Australia, affords the most satisfactory evidence of the good intentions which existed in the minds of the founders of that colony with regard to the treatment of the Aborigines. It is placed at the head of the present number of "Extracts," not merely for the purpose of paying a just tribute to the sentiments which it contains, but as a standard by which the subsequent operations in the colony may be tried.

In proceeding to colonise the extensive region of South Australia, the condition of the native tribes, and the proper course to be adopted in dealing with them, came necessarily under our consideration; and our attention was fixed still more forcibly upon those important subjects by Sir George Grey's letter of the 17th July, 1835, in which he communicated the Address of the House of Commons to His Majesty, praying "that measures be taken to secure to the natives of the several colonies the due observance of justice, and the preservation of their rights;" and conveyed your Lordship's intimation, "that this subject cannot but be regarded as of the first importance in the formation of the new settlement of South Australia.

In considering the subject to which your Lordship thus directed our attention, it appeared that, in dealing with the Aborigines, the following objects should be aimed at:—to guard them against personal outrage and violence; to protect them in the undisturbed enjoyment of their proprietary right to the soil, wherever such right may be found to exist; to make it an invariable and cardinal condition in all bargains and treaties made with the natives for the cession of lands possessed by them, in occupation or enjoyment, that permanent subsistence shall be supplied to them from some other source; and, in the language of the Address of the House of Commons to His Majesty, "to promote amongst them the spread of civilisation, and the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian religion."

On each of these points we beg to state the views which we (the Commissioners) entertain, and the measures which we propose.

I. It is a melancholy fact, which admits of no disguise, and which cannot be too deeply deplored, that the native tribes of Australia have hitherto been exposed to injustice and cruelty in their intercourse with Europeans. Squatters, runaway convicts, and deserters from the vessels employed in the fisheries, have long infested the coasts of New Holland, and have dealt with the Aborigines as if they regarded them not as members of the human family, but as

inferior animals created for their use. These outrages cannot be repressed where no legal authority exists; and it is only in the neighbourhood of the British settlements that the protection of the British law can be extended to the native tribes. The colonisation of South Australia by industrious and virtuous settlers, so far from being an invasion of the rights of the Aborigines, is a necessary preliminary to the displacement of the lawless squatters, the abandoned sailors, the runaway convicts, the pirates, the worse than savages, that now infest the coasts and islands along that extensive portion of New Holland, and perpetrate against the defenceless natives crimes at which humanity revolts.

II. While the colonisation of South Australia will thus afford the means of protecting the "Aborigines" from personal violence, the locations of the colonists will be conducted on the principle of securing to the natives their proprietary right to the soil, wherever such right may be found to exist. The instructions to the Colonial Commissioner, a copy of which will be shortly submitted to your Lordship, have been framed with a view to the attainment of this object. Of the colonial lands placed by the Act of Parliament at the disposal of the Commissioners, no portion which the natives may possess in occupation or enjoyment will be offered for sale until previously ceded by the natives to the Colonial Commissioner. The Colonial Commissioner is required to furnish the Protector of the Aborigines appointed by your Lordship with evidence of the faithful fulfilment of the bargains or treaties which he may effect with the Aborigines, for the cession of lands which they may have occupied or enjoyed; and it will be the duty of the Protector of the Aborigines not only to see that such bargains or treaties are faithfully executed, but also to call upon the Executive Government of the colony to protect the Aborigines in the undisturbed enjoyment of the lands over which they may possess proprietary rights, and of which they are not disposed to make a voluntary transfer.

III. We propose that the cessions of territory over which the Aborigines may have any proprietary right shall not only be perfectly voluntary upon their part, but shall be considered as involving a stipulation that the Aborigines by whom the ceded lands may have been occupied or enjoyed shall be permanently supplied with subsistence, and with moral and religious instruction. This condition in favour of the Aborigines may be carried into effect in such a way as to be beneficial rather than burthensome to the settlers who may acquire possession of the ceded lands. It is believed that by adopting the two following arrangements the natives may be subsisted and instructed, while the prosperity of the colony is accelerated:

1st. It is proposed, that wherever colonial settlements are formed in districts frequented by the natives, asylums for the Aborigines shall be established. These asylums shall consist of weather-proof sheds, in which the natives may at all times obtain gratuitously shelter and lodging superior to those found in their rudely constructed huts, and may receive, not gratuitously, but in exchange for



an equivalent in the form of labour, food and clothing superior to their ordinary means of subsistence. By this arrangement the Aborigines will be secured against the destitution and want to which they are now so frequently exposed ; they will be reconciled to labour for the sake of its reward ; the value of the moderate quantity of work they will be required to perform will exceed the value of the rations and clothing they will receive ; and thus the asylums for the Aborigines, while they are a source of revenue rather than of expense, will accelerate the prosperity of the colony, by training the Aborigines to habits of useful industry, and by bringing a supply of native labour to aid the efforts of the settlers.

2. The Commissioners have it under consideration to propose the creation of a permanent fund for the instruction of the Aborigines, by some such regulation as the following:—it is proposed that such lands as may be ceded by the natives to the Colonisation Commissioners shall be sold under the condition, that for every 80 acres conveyed the party to whom the conveyance is made shall pay for four-fifths, or 64 acres only ; the conveyance to be made subject to a stipulation, that at the expiration of a term of years, hereafter to be decided, the lands so conveyed shall be divided into five equal parts ; one of these parts, or 16 acres, to be resumed as a reserve for the use of the Aborigines, and the remaining four parts, or 64 acres, to remain with the proprietor as his freehold. The mode of determining which of the five equal parts shall be reserved for the Aborigines shall be as follows : the proprietor in possession shall be allowed the first choice of two of the five parts, and then the Protector of the Aborigines shall have the right to select the reserve out of the remaining three parts.

The effect of this arrangement will be beneficial to both parties. The proprietor, for every 64 acres which he may pay for, will obtain the gratuitous use of 16 acres for a term of years sufficiently long to yield him an ample remuneration for clearing and enclosing. The buildings and other extensive improvements will of course be confined to those parts of the land which he intends to hold in absolute possession, while his ordinary improvements will be extended pretty equally over the remaining lands from which the reserve is liable to be selected ; because if he rendered any portion of them more valuable than the rest, that portion would probably be selected as the reserve ; while if he permitted any portion of them to lie waste or to become exhausted, that portion would probably be left upon his hands. Thus the uncertainty as to the part which he would ultimately be called upon to resign, would render it his interest to effect nearly equal improvements upon all the lands on which he did not intend to exercise his right of first choice. Under these arrangements, the reserves for the Aborigines, instead of lying as intermediate wastes, impeding communication and obstructing improvement, will be enclosed and cultivated in common with the purchased lands with which, in the first instance, they will be united. During the prescribed term of years, their increasing annual value will constitute a gratuity or bonus to the pur-

chasers of the adjoining territory ; and after the expiration of this period they will constitute a permanent fund for the endowment of schools and establishments for the benefit of the Aborigines.

Thus conducted, the colonisation of Southern Australia will be an advent of mercy to the native tribes. They are now exposed to every species of outrage, and treated like cattle of the field ; they will in future be placed under the protection of British laws, and invested with the rights of British subjects. They are now standing on the verge of famine ; they will obtain a constant and an ample supply of subsistence. They are not attached to the soil as cultivators ; they do not occupy the natural pastures, even as wandering shepherds ; they are without the implements of the chase which belong to hunting tribes ; and with respect to industry and the possession of property, they do not appear to manifest the instinctive apprehensions of some of the inferior animals. They will now be lifted up from this degradation ; they will be gradually reconciled to labour for the sake of its certain reward ; they will be instructed in the several branches of useful industry, and they will possess in their reserves property increasing in value as the colony expands. Colonisation thus extended to South Australia, though it should do nothing for the colonists, and nothing for the mother country, would yet deserve, in its influence upon the Aborigines, Lord Bacon's character of " a blessed work."

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The following quotations from comparatively recent numbers of the *Southern Australian*, will show how far, even in the judgment of some of the settlers, who are necessarily the parties most interested in acquiring possession of land in South Australia, the humane intentions of the Commissioners have as yet been carried into execution.

We insert with pleasure the communication of our valued correspondent, O. T. R. The subject is one of intense interest. So far as that which is negative is concerned, we have reason to congratulate the colony. For the first time in the history of colonisation the civilised and the uncivilised man have met without collision, and emigration has brought with it a blessing rather than a curse. The blood of our brother does not cry out from the earth against us. Since we have landed on the shores of Southern Australia the death of a black man cannot be laid to the charge of an European. On the contrary the native population mingle fearlessly with our families, and daily acts of kindness bind them to us. This is as politic as it is just, and we are convinced that it will be the cause of temporal and of heavenly blessing. But ought our case to have rested here ? We think not. And, on the contrary, we feel deeply that if we have not been guilty of any gross acts of barbarity, of any sin of actual commission, we are not free from the heavy responsibility which ever attaches to the sin of omission. We trust

the future will in some degree compensate for the past. We close by stating, that although we differ from our correspondent in his theory, we concur with him in his benevolent desire to benefit those who are made by the same God, and who are open to the same salvation as ourselves.

Without further remark we leave our correspondent to speak for himself, and we shall always be ready to give this subject the consideration it deserves.—*Southern Australian*, June 16, 1838.

*To the Editor of the Southern Australian.*

It will have given great pleasure to all those who feel interested in the well-being of the aboriginal natives of this province, to observe in the opening number of your journal, that the interests of this portion of our fellow-subjects were to be advocated, and that their right to participate in the general prosperity of this colony would be finally upheld. We have been following our different avocations in a great measure regardless of the state of the black population, until a short time since we were thrown into a state of alarm, in consequence of our position in regard to those neglected beings becoming each day more critical. We then began to think they were worth our notice, and that some measures were necessary to ensure a good understanding with them. The Aboriginal Committee, noticed in the first number of your journal, has arisen from this state of things, and I am happy in believing that much good results from their labours.

A resolution was agreed to at a meeting of this Committee held two weeks ago, to this effect—That an application should be made to Government for any sum or sums of money which might from time to time be necessary in order to advance the welfare of the native population, seeing that the Act of Parliament had failed to make any provision for their support. At a meeting held this week the *rights of the natives in the soil* were taken into consideration, and led to much discussion. It seems that the Commissioners have, in their instructions to their representative here, directed that any land in the occupation or enjoyment of the natives was to be considered their property, and that he was, if it were possible, to effect a cession of such land by the Aborigines to the settlers. This seems to recognise, on the part of the Commissioners, a moral if not a legal right of the natives to the land we now occupy; for it seems certain that at different periods of the year the whole of the districts surveyed under the Acts of Parliament and allotted without any reserve to the colonists, was occupied by the natives; indeed the more intelligent part of the natives themselves have often asserted that the land for instance upon which Adelaide is situate, belongs to the "black fellow."

The discussion of this important and interesting subject is adjourned to the next meeting of the Committee; and I doubt not that the decision will be, that the natives of this province have an indefeasible right to the soil, and that no Act of Parliament, by establishing this colony as a British province, can take away the

weight of obligation which rests upon us as colonists. We have taken possession for our own benefit, of the land hitherto in the enjoyment of the Aborigines; and it appears to me clear that we must, by every means in our power, and at any expense to ourselves, promote their welfare, support them by a regular supply of the necessaries of life, and stimulate them to exertion by holding out to them a prospect of obtaining its luxuries; and further, by making a zealous and well-considered attempt to educate their young, lay the foundation of principles of morality and civilisation among the rising generation. In so doing we shall no more than follow out the intentions of the benevolent founders of this our adopted country.

I am, &c.  
O. T. R.

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*To the Editor of the Southern Australian.*

SIR,—Believing you to be interested in the welfare of the community, I hope you will give insertion in your valuable journal to the following remarks, relating to a class of our fellow-subjects who have the highest possible claims upon our sympathy, viz. the aboriginal proprietors of South Australia.

By referring to the Act of Parliament which constitutes South Australia a British province, we find no mention made of the natives of the country, or their rights; on the contrary, the country is set forth as “waste and unoccupied;” and acting upon the truth of these suppositions, it points out the manner in which these “waste and unoccupied lands” are to be appropriated. Have we who have come hither found these lands unoccupied? Have we not, on the contrary, found them possessed by native tribes, feeble indeed, and few as to numbers, yet nourished and sustained by the productions of these supposed “waste and unoccupied lands;” and unless we act upon the principle supposed by some to be an exploded one, that “might makes right,” we are found possessing that which rightfully belongs to our neighbours. We may allege that those most interested are content that it should be so; but is that any excuse for us who are possessed of superior knowledge as regards the rights of justice? Mr. Penn might have acted in the same manner towards the American Aborigines; but the love of justice and the fear of God were too powerful in his breast to permit him to do other than purchase what, like others and *us*, he might have taken for nothing. True, we have a “Protector of the Aborigines;” but what power has he to protect them from being robbed of their land or of the animals on which they subsist? He is sometimes allowed a pittance of biscuit and sugar to give them; and is this to be considered an adequate equivalent for what we have taken from them: we feed our dogs better. And where is the provision for their moral and intellectual instruction? How are they to be civilised and instructed in the arts of social life? Alas! poor natives, you must still continue to go from house to house, and beg bread



from those who have taken possession of your land. The Colonial Government, feeling the force of the natives' claim, appointed a Committee to consider and recommend measures for the improvement of their condition. That Committee has acknowledged the right the natives have to the soil; they have also recommended various measures for the amelioration of their condition. This must be very gratifying to the benevolent portion of the community; but an insurmountable barrier lies in the way of carrying out these resolutions—the Act provides not for them; the resident commissioner is not instructed to make any reserve for them; the public lands are either to be sold or rented as pasture lands. The first Annual Report of the Colonisation Commissioners speaks of lands being reserved for the benefit of the natives. Have such reserves been made? *One* acre of land has been reserved for the tribes in this vicinity. Princely donation! Well may the native South Australians rejoice in their munificent Christian neighbours—reserve *one* and take *one hundred thousand*. But ought such things to be? The rights of the original possessors are not at all affected by Acts of Parliament or Commissioners' instructions: their right rests upon the principles of justice. It is impossible to deny the right which the natives have to the land on which they were born, from which age after age they have derived support and nourishment, and which has received their ashes. We must give them compensation for that which we deprive them of. Let us, therefore, as honest men, do justice to the Aborigines of our adopted country, bearing in mind the command of Him who is higher than the highest, "Do to others as you would have others do to you."

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

A LOVER OF JUSTICE.

*Southern Australian, July 28, 1838.*

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Adelaide, the 7th of 9th month, 1838.

*To the Protector of the Aborigines.*

SIR,—Please to receive herewith the sum of £3 16s. 6d. being the interest, at the rate of 10 per cent., on one-fifth of the purchase-money of the town land, purchased by me, on the 27th March, 1837.

This sum, in accordance with the pledge given by the Colonisation Commissioners for this province, and in accordance with the principle therein signified in their first annual report, wherein it is stated they were to receive one-fifth of the lands to constitute a permanent fund for the support and advancement of the natives; I beg leave to pay the above sum for that purpose, seeing the Commissioners as yet have neither fulfilled their pledge in this respect to the public, or carried out the moral principle signified. Under these circumstances it is impossible to let the question rest; and until that be done, I feel it my duty to pay to the proper authorities for the use of the natives this yearly rent—the above sum being one and a half year's rent; viz. from 27th March, 1837 to 27th instant.

I disclaim this to be either donation, grant, or gift; but a just claim the natives of this district have on me as an occupier of those lands.

A TENANT.

If the original intentions of the Commissioners regarding the acquisition of the land occupied by the Aborigines, have not been carried into effect—and such may be reasonably inferred to have been the case, not merely from the extracts which have just been given, but from other sources equally authentic—it may be asked, What is really the situation of the natives with respect to the territory now rapidly coming into European occupation? In reply to this query it may be briefly stated, that the whole of that large portion of continent designated as South Australia, and bounded by certain lines of latitude and longitude and a portion of sea coast, either is or has been offered for sale by this Government. On the fulfilment of certain stipulations, any portion of this territory may be acquired by a distant purchaser, without any reference to the number or character of the native population. From their being within certain limits migratory, as well as from their great relative weakness, the natives are readily displaced from any portion so purchased. The first removes, whilst the emigrants are few in number, interfere but little with the condition of the Aborigines; but as further purchasers occasion fresh removes, it is obvious that they must not only become straitened, but that they must be driven to encroach on neighbouring tribes. The game on which they have subsisted are rapidly destroyed by the emigrants, who shoot them for amusement in greater numbers than the natives have been accustomed to do for the supply of their wants.

It must be borne in mind, that besides the tracts of land actually sold, a much more considerable extent is conceded for pasture; and the flocks and herds introduced by the settlers, and fed at large under the direction of armed stock-keepers, become a further means of removing the game on which the natives have depended. These exotic animals, roaming at large in a manner not easily to be distinguished by the natives from that of the wild animals which they have supplanted, must offer to the starving and untutored Aborigines a temptation to kill and eat, which many of a fairer complexion, and who cannot plead the excuse of ignorance, could with difficulty resist. These considerations not merely account for, but afford some palliation of the various instances of aggression by which the settlers have been annoyed, to a degree which has induced them to seek from Government the punishment and coercion of the Aborigines. For the proofs of these remarks, reference is made to extracts which are given in subsequent pages of this number.

It may be supposed that the Protector of the Aborigines is bound by his office to collect the natives and endeavour to settle them on portions of their own territory; and it will probably excite the surprise of the reader, to find that he has no legal power to do so. Were it possible so to settle a company of natives, they would be merely squatters, upon whose removal the purchaser in Adelaide or London might positively insist; and until the authority of Government is exerted to carry into effect the measures announced by the Commissioners themselves in the Report already quoted, no settlement of the natives can be made, unless land be purchased for that

purpose, as in the case of other settlers. It is obviously impossible that they can make these purchases for themselves, even when they are made acquainted with the necessity for doing so; and it can scarcely be expected that either individuals or benevolent associations will make the necessary sacrifice for obtaining an adequate extent of land, when the price to which it has already risen is taken into consideration. It will doubtless be asked, how the worthy and honourable gentlemen whose names are attached to the Report we have quoted, can have allowed a system to be established so completely at variance with the sentiments they have therein recorded? Their explanation appears to be, that the natives have been represented to them as few in number, and to be so migratory and unsettled as to have no right or possession in the soil. The admission of this idea has virtually erased the passage relating to the Aborigines with which these Extracts commence; and the Commissioners, still retaining the feeling and expression of kindness towards the natives, think that they have discharged their duty towards them, by recommending them to the attention of successive governors and to the benevolence of the settlers. The Commissioners are not alone in this view of the case. It is adopted by many in the colony, and is advocated in the columns of the *Southern Australian*, in opposition to some of the extracts already quoted. It has been urged by some of the friends of the Aborigines in this country, that no conscientious emigrant can feel that the mere purchase of a Government grant can complete his title, and extinguish the claims of the natives whom he succeeds in possession; but that, like the founder of Pennsylvania, he ought to complete his title by securing the payment and satisfaction of the natives.

As the non-existence of any native title is strongly insisted upon by many worthy and conscientious persons, the investigation of the native title becomes a point of primary importance. In the letter of "O. T. R." already quoted, it is seen that the natives are not without distinct ideas of their own rights and our encroachments. The same fact is shown in the following extract from a letter written by one of the settlers; which also exhibits the uncivilised and degraded state of some of the tribes, and the kind of instruction which they are unhappily in the way of receiving from Europeans.

*Extract of a Letter from J. Hebert to Mr. Underwood, Nailsworth, Gloucestershire.*

"The natives are timid and peaceable towards us; fearful of our fire-arms, and quiet from fear of us, for they want not courage in defending their own district from the incursions of the other aboriginal tribes with invincible courage. At these times, and at their corrobories, they are seen to advantage; they are then no longer those slothful beings, apparently incapable of the least exertion, creeping, but men capable of the most arduous enterprise; they only want a stimulus, and they jump as it were into new life and activity. The appearance of an enemy will rouse them into action, and, like a mad bull, tear the ground with rage. If one

party seems afraid, the other will, by the most antic postures, at the same time upbraid them of cowardice until they work them up into a pitch of anger, for which they sometimes suffer from the backward party. I saw one the other day slowly approach the foot of a large tree, large as three men with hands joined would grasp, he stood before it some time, as if contemplating how he was to ascend! he had an hand-saw in his hand; presently he slipt off his blanket, (for since we have arrived one and another gives them some article of dress or other,) hangs the hand-saw on the thumb of his left hand, and with his waddy (stick) in the other, he mounts the tree with the nimbleness of a squirrel, and in about a quarter of an hour dismembered it of many of its main branches. They have had a fight lately, and several of our Adelaide tribe are wounded, and one has received a spear through his body, but is still living. When they expect a battle, they paint the upper part of their faces red, a kind of red ochre which they find near Encounter Bay. Most of their quarrels arise about the fair sex, (beauties certainly compared with the most ugly things in nature,) but, however, they possess charms sufficient for them to fight about, although they make them mere drudges after they have taken them to wife. When paying their addresses, the male wears a white feather in his hair, which is sufficiently daubed with gum, and ornamented with kangaroo teeth. When we came first, they were very fond of biscuit, and all their cry was bekity, but after they had tasted soft bread, they said bekity (biscuit) no good—bread very good. Some of them have learned to swear; if you offend them, will\_d—n your eyes, go to England; this my land, you no good; but among them, as among us, there are some base characters; still the greater part are fond of white people, and on our asking them if they should not like to spear us, will answer, no; white man very good. The other Sunday, a posse of them came along with a native dog; William Young brought out his gun; they were sadly afraid we should kill their dog, and they did so quarrel with us in their tongue, told us white man's dog no good, black man's dog very good. A few days before one of their dogs killed a pig, and we gave them money to let us shoot it: they were afraid we should kill this one also; however, they soon went off."

South Adelaide, 26th October, 1838.

See *Australian Record*, 10th July, 1839.

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Few persons have had better opportunities of becoming acquainted with the character and condition of the aborigines of New Holland, than Dr. Lang, the Principal of Sydney College, New South Wales; and the following letter from him, especially relating to the ideas of the natives with regard to property in land, seems to be quite conclusive.

*Liverpool, 15th November, 1839.*

MY DEAR FRIEND,—In reply to the question which you proposed to me some time ago, in the course of conversation in London, and of which



you have reminded me in the letter I had the pleasure of receiving from you yesterday, with the pamphlets and letters for America, viz. "Whether the Aborigines of the Australian continent have any idea of property in land," I beg to answer most decidedly in the affirmative. It is well known that these Aborigines in no instance cultivate the soil, but subsist entirely by hunting and fishing, and on the wild roots they find in certain localities (especially the common fern), with occasionally a little wild honey; indigenous fruits being exceedingly rare. The whole race is divided into tribes, more or less numerous, according to circumstances, and designated from the localities they inhabit; for although universally a wandering race, with respect to places of habitation, their wanderings are circumscribed by certain well-defined limits, beyond which they seldom pass, except for purposes of war or of festivity. In short, every tribe has its own district, the boundaries of which are well known to the natives generally; and within that district all the wild animals are considered as much the property of the tribe inhabiting, or rather ranging on, its whole extent, as the flocks of sheep and herds of cattle that have been introduced into the country by adventurous Europeans, are held by European law and usage the property of their respective owners. In fact, as the country is occupied chiefly for pastoral purposes, the difference between the Aboriginal and the European ideas of property in the soil is more imaginary than real, the native grass affording subsistence to the kangaroos of the natives, as well as to the wild cattle of the Europeans, and the only difference indeed being, that the former are not branded with a particular mark like the latter, and are somewhat wilder and more difficult to catch. Nay, as the European regards the intrusion of any other white man upon the *cattle-run*, of which European law and usage have made him the possessor, and gets it punished as a trespass, the Aborigines of the particular tribe inhabiting a particular district, regard the intrusion of any other tribe of Aborigines upon that district, for the purposes of kangaroo hunting, &c. as an intrusion, to be resisted and punished by force of arms. In short, this is the frequent cause of Aboriginal, as it is of European wars; man, in his natural state, being very much alike in all conditions—jealous of his rights and exceedingly pugnacious. It is true, the European intruders pay no respect to these Aboriginal divisions of the territory, the black native being often hunted off his own ground, or destroyed by European violence, dissipation, or disease, just as his kangaroos are driven off that ground by the European's black cattle; but this surely does not alter the case as to the right of the Aborigines.

But particular districts are not merely the property of particular tribes; particular sections or portions of these districts are universally recognised by the natives as the property of individual members of these tribes: and when the owner of such a section or portion of territory (as I ascertained was the case at King George's Island) has determined on burning off the grass on his land, which is done for the double purpose of enabling the natives to take the older animals more easily, and to provide a new crop of sweeter grass for the rising generation of the forest, not only all the other individuals of his own tribe, but whole tribes from other districts, are invited to the hunting party and the feast and dance, or corrobory that ensue; the wild animals on the ground being all considered the property of the owner of the land. I have often heard natives myself tell me, in answer to my own questions on the subject, who were the Aboriginal owners of particular tracts of land now held by Europeans; and indeed this idea of property in the soil, *for hunting purposes*, is universal among the Aborigines. They seldom complain of the intrusion of Europeans; on the contrary, they are pleased at their *sitting down*, as they call it, on their land: they do not perceive that their own circumstances are thereby sadly altered for the worse in most cases; that their means of

subsistence are gradually more and more limited, and their numbers rapidly diminished: in short, in the simplicity of their hearts, they take the frozen adder into their bosom, and it stings them to death. They look for a benefit or blessing from European intercourse, and it becomes their ruin.

If I had had a little more leisure I would have written more at length, and in a style more worthy of your perusal; but you may take it as certain, at all events, that the Aborigines of Australia *have* an idea of property in the soil in their native and original state, and that that idea is, in reality, not very different from that of the European proprietors of sheep and cattle, by whom they have, in so many instances, been dispossessed, without the slightest consideration of their rights or feelings.

Indeed, the infinity of the native names of places, all of which are descriptive and appropriate, is of itself a *prima facie* evidence of their having strong ideas of property in the soil; for it is only where such ideas are entertained and acted on, that we find, as is certainly the case in Australia, *Nullum sine nomine saxum*.

I am, my dear Friend,

Your's very sincerely,

JOHN DUNMORE LANG.

To Dr. Hodgkin.

As the question as to the degree of right to the soil is one of fundamental importance, with reference to the manner in which it is the duty of Christian emigrants to deal with the aborigines, we shall not apologise for inviting the attention of the reader to a few paragraphs on the subject. At a period so remote, that, with the exception of the Mosaic account, we have no authentic record of the state of society, it might reasonably be supposed that very large portions of the earth's surface were wholly unoccupied by man; and that, consequently, they were open to the appropriation of any who might choose to stock them with their cattle or corn. Nevertheless, we find that, although Abraham appears to have had a wide range on which his cattle might live and multiply, he regarded himself as a stranger, without lot or possession of his own. Indeed, it is expressly stated in scripture, that the Almighty gave him no possession in the country. Even when he desired a spot which he might call his own, for funeral purposes, a purchase became necessary, and a plot of land was obtained from a neighbouring proprietor. Again: Jacob when leaving his blessing to his children, bequeathed a portion of land, which he expressly stated he had taken with his sword and his bow, evidently implying that, even in those days, the mere fact of taking possession of a territory in which cattle might be grazed at large, did not confer a right of property, but that previous occupation had given that right to others.

It is sometimes said that, on the part of uncivilized aborigines, their almost absolute want of the necessary stimulus to make them take advantage of the soil, is a proof of their being very little entitled to regard it as their own; which, together with the fact that they seldom, if ever, bestow labour upon it, has favoured a belief that it is a fair prize to any who are ready to occupy it, when granted by their Government. It will perhaps be expedient, before sanctioning the operation of this principle, to inquire into the

situation of land-holders, even in this country, when the land is left uncultivated, or has become the joint possession of many individuals. There are, even in this island, in which there is a large and crowded population, many acres of land wholly appropriated to the propagation and preservation of wild animals, which are scarcely regarded as the subjects of strict possession to the same degree as the game in the district mentioned in the letter of Dr. Lang. And yet there is, perhaps, no portion of land of which the possession is more immoveably fixed in the hands of the proprietors and their descendants, than some of these apparently waste and neglected districts. Again; there are considerable portions of land variously situated, of which the proprietorship is not lodged in the hands of any one individual, but is the joint possession of many. It is sufficient to allude to numerous heaths and commons, on which cattle, sheep, and horses, belonging to particular parishes, are allowed to roam in quest of pasture, whilst those from other villages or hamlets would be regarded as intruders, for which their owners would suffer the imposition of a fine.

These cases seem to leave no doubt as to the existence of some right in the land possessed by its uncivilized inhabitants, notwithstanding the want of individual appropriation, and the little manual labour which they have spent upon it. But it is said that it is unreasonable that a few natives, drawing a scanty subsistence from the spontaneous productions of their country, should be allowed to maintain the exclusive possession of promising and fertile regions which are ready to afford sustenance and employment to the overflowing and industrious populations of other countries. This may be very true, but it does not prove that the right of the natives is to be lost sight of. And is it not the bounden duty of those who are concerned as the conductors or approvers of emigration to districts in such circumstances as have been alluded to, to take care that the first steps are consistent with perfect humanity and justice to the aborigines; and that they are followed up by others calculated to protect and elevate them, and to ensure them a position in the new society consistent with their original possession of the country? It should be remembered that, while civilized colonists are possessed of capital in a great variety of useful forms, the natives, like children who may be heirs to large fortunes, are also possessed of capital which, for the present, is, as respects them, in a state of dormant and unproductive investment. This surely is no plea for the abstraction of such capital, but should induce us to watch against its dissipation, and to take care that their present necessities and future claims are effectually provided for. The idea that the want of disposition or ability on the part of the natives, in their present condition, to take advantage of the natural resources and treasures of their country, is a sufficient plea for their being deprived of them for the benefit of others who may possess more cultivated talents, savours far more of St. Simonianism than of Christianity, and only needs to be fully sifted and examined to be exploded by the conscientious and thinking portion of society.

However just and reasonable it may be thought that the redundant population of a civilised country, struggling to obtain the necessaries of life, should seek to take advantage of unoccupied lands in countries possessing a very limited and imperfectly civilized population, it is difficult to find a plea for the distant land-speculator, who seeks his own personal aggrandizement by becoming possessed of large estates which have been obtained without any reference to the claims of the natives, and merely with a view to the increase of fortune, already of ample size. It is by no means intended that the preceding remarks should wound the feelings of any individuals who may have become purchasers of land in New South Wales or elsewhere, in the belief that they are making a good and perfectly honest investment of their capital, and probably without the least suspicion of the injustice and wrong to which they have become parties. It is to be hoped that their eyes will be opened, and that they will not delay strenuously to promote such measures as may yet be practicable in some degree to redress the wrongs to which they have been accessory. May those who contemplate future investments of this kind pause before they yield to the temptation, and unite their efforts in devising and carrying into effect a system by which their purchases may be divested of their criminality, and the prosperity of the settlers be secured on a better foundation than the ruin and destruction of the legitimate possessors of the soil. The increase in value which has taken place in well selected spots, and the rapidity with which portions of land offered for sale by the Government are bought up by speculators and adventurers, furnish a good criterion of the value of the capital abstracted from the natives. The following extracts will show the value to which land has already risen in the neighbourhood of Adelaide, and the utter impossibility of the original proprietors retaining possession of any portion, except it be by Government grant.

We understand that country section No. 476 has been sold for £500, and £800 has been offered and refused for No. 372.

One half town acre, No. 302, has realized £200, and acres 644, 645, and 678 have brought £190.

During the past week tenders for 40 country sections have been sent to the Land Office! and it is expected that very soon there will not be an acre] to sell within ten miles of the capital. The Commissioners will therefore have an abundance of funds at their disposal for emigration during the ensuing season.—*Supplement to the Southern Australian*, 11 Aug., 1838.

During the week no fewer than four special surveys of four thousand acres each have been taken and paid for at different points within a reasonable distance from Adelaide. The first of these, in point of importance, is that on the eastern shores of Spencer's Gulf above Hardwicke's Bay, and near the fresh water river discovered some years ago by Capt. Gould. The harbour here is said



to be very fine, and the country adjoining of a superior description for all sorts of agricultural and pastoral operations. This station, selected under the direction of our worthy friend, Mr. Robert Cock, who has just returned from a survey of the Gulf, is chosen with great judgment. It is, perhaps, the only harbour on its eastern shores, and must, therefore, form the main point of communication between Adelaide and Port Lincoln, and become the midway station between both. This survey belongs to a company recently formed in Adelaide, and its 100*l.* shares are already at 30*l.* premium. Mr. Morphett has secured, it is said, for parties in England, two surveys at the spot described by Mr. Bonney in a late number of the Gazette, near the junction of the Murray, with the lake, and where there is considerable extent of rich alluvial flats, well adapted for the growth of maize. The fourth survey of the week has been taken chiefly by the passengers per Fairfield, Messrs. Mein, Hall, Richardson, Rankin, and others. It is said to be an exceedingly valuable location, and from its proximity to Lake Alexandrina, must command easy access to the port of the Murray, at Encounter Bay.

A single preliminary section on the Torrens, 137 acres, three miles from Adelaide, was lately sold for 1,300*l.* cash. A frontage of 40 feet, in no very advantageous situation in Grenfell-street, brought 200*l.*; and we believe a yearly rent of 1*l.* per foot frontage in King William-street, near the General Post-office, has been offered and obtained. At the new township of Glenelg, we hear of large prices being offered for quarter acre allotments, and it is probable that beautiful township will realize on an average at least 500*l.* per acre. A half acre water frontage, at Port Lincoln, was lately sold to one of the first mercantile houses of Van Diemen's Land for 250*l.*; and we have heard that the proprietors of sections adjoining to, or in the immediate neighbourhood of the Custom-house of that magnificent harbour, have refused much larger sums. The original cost of these frontages on the 27th of February last, was ten shillings each, so that they have increased in value five hundred fold!—*From the South Australian Gazette, May 15, 1839.*

It appears that the removal of certain emigrants, who had fixed themselves as squatters, has not failed to excite the feelings of these people, and has raised sympathy on their behalf; surely something of the same feeling should not be withheld from those whose possession has the utmost sanction of time, and whose expulsion is yet more unceremoniously effected.

#### *Meeting to Memorialise the Governor on the Subject of Public Lands.*

We have received from a valued friend an outline of this meeting. It was held on Wednesday evening, the 30th ult., at Shepherd's Hotel, and was numerous and respectably attended. We cannot avoid quoting part of the address of one of the speakers.

“Debarred as we have hitherto been of other land,” said the individual referred to, “what are we to do if driven from this? Tell us where we are to go. Even if we had land to settle upon, we must have longer time than two months to erect our dwellings. Let it be remembered that a labouring man can have very little leisure for such an employment whilst diligently engaged in providing sustenance for his family. He ought to have at least twelve months allowed him for this purpose. What will they say in England when this absurd proclamation shall have arrived there? Assuredly all parties, Whig, Tory, and Radical, will unite in reprobating it? They will do more: they will inquire not merely as to the propriety of the measure, but the motives of the framers. They will ask to be informed, and they shall be informed, what interest, pecuniary or otherwise, the authorities have had in this hasty expulsion of two hundred families? Why is the winter chosen as the proper season for such an attempt? Has any one of the Governor’s advisers got land which he wishes to sell, and takes this method of compelling the people to buy? These are questions that will be asked, and shall be answered, both for the sake of the population here, and to prevent imposition on our friends and fellow-countrymen in England. Humble though our lot may be, we are too numerous to be trampled upon with impunity.”

Coupling the expressions thus used with the information we have elsewhere offered in connexion with this subject, we ask our readers what impression it must make on every disinterested mind?—*Southern Australian, June 16, 1838.*

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The following official document clearly evinces the benevolent and just sentiments of the present Governor.

### PRESENTMENT OF THE GRAND JURY.

*From the Southern Australian, 3rd April, 1839.*

We have already given our readers the Presentment of the Grand Jury, and we copy from the Gazette the answer of the Governor.

There are many points of this address which we think deserving of attention and comment; but at the present hour we are compelled to defer our commentary to a future number. His Excellency’s reply was couched in the following terms:—

Government House, March 21, 1839.

Sir,—In reply to your Honour’s communication, forwarding to me a presentment from the Grand Jury of the province, I beg to say that—

Under the very heavy pressure of complicated business, with the most inconvenient accommodation for transacting it, which has been upon me during the short period of my residence in this province, I have been hitherto compelled to allow many questionable public arrangements to remain as I found them.

Among these are proceedings connected with the administration of justice

I am, however, most anxious that the laws, regulations, and

regularity of practice which exist in England should be introduced, as far as the circumstances of the colony may admit and require them, into every department here, and especially into the courts of law.

To the utmost of my power nothing shall be wanting on my part to attain this object, whether as regards frequent gaol deliveries, the legalising the declarations of persons who cannot take the ordinary oaths, or other important matters.

In the present very active state of private business, I doubt if the magistrates of the province could, without too great a sacrifice, give their time to the duties of quarter sessions. This consideration alone prevents me from immediately constituting such courts. In the meantime, the resident magistrates' court is, to a great extent, a substitute for them.

I am much gratified at the manly and decided manner in which the grand jury have expressed their benevolent feelings on the subject of the Aborigines.

In common with the gentlemen of the grand jury, I have observed with anxiety the progress of events and opinions in this particular; and I have also seen with deep regret, that, as in substance expressed by the presentment, petty offences and depredations have been increasing among the Aborigines, and that these evils have been accompanied by a corresponding increase of impatience and animosity against them by some settlers.

I cordially unite in opinion with the grand jury, that "measures should be speedily taken to promote their civilisation, and protect such rights as are unalienable to man, with a view to their advantage and to the security of the colonists." Such measures have been for some time past under consideration, and are actually in progress.

Every friend of morality, however, must see with deep concern that that vice which brutalises man, or rather which degrades him lower than the brute,—drunkenness—that vice which especially renders man a burden to himself and a pest to society, is, through the example or at the instigation of thoughtless and abandoned persons, gaining ground among the natives. As one of the leading points of hope for them, its progress must be steadily and universally discountenanced by us.

Hitherto the Aborigines in this province have been fostered by the colonists in general, with a degree of judgment and humanity scarcely ever equalled and never surpassed in the history of colonisation. After such a commencement, we may look with great confidence for a continuation of the same general standard of conduct, under the increasing difficulties which must accompany the extension of our settlements and the spread of European vices.

The Aborigines have been brought under British laws, to the utmost of my power, when they are guilty of crimes. I will not, from any mistaken sympathy towards them, suffer those laws to be evaded; but, at the same time, as the Aborigines may be punished by our laws, by those laws they must also be protected, and I look

to the juries of the colony for steadfast support in defending them according to the full scope and power of British statutes, against every lawless aggression.

It must also be remembered that if, on the one hand, we have set before them the blessings of Christianity and civilisation, we have, on the other, received from them this beautiful country, of which, until our arrival, they were the undisputed possessors. For this, the foundation of brilliant hopes to the colonists, we owe to its native and aboriginal proprietors at least a heavy debt of charity, humanity, and patient forbearance.

I do not at present see that the disarming of the natives when they enter towns would offer advantages sufficient to counterbalance the expense and trouble which would be required to carry it into effect, and the evil feelings which it might excite. It is not in town that their arms can often be made instruments of mischief, nor indeed can they often be formidable in the rural districts, if settlers take, as they should, ordinary precaution against them.

I remain, Sir,

Your Honour's obedient servant,

(Signed)

GEORGE GAWLER,

Governor of South Australia.

His Honour the Acting Judge.

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### Art. III. MURDERS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA AND EXECUTIONS OF NATIVES.

Although good feeling has in a remarkable manner been cultivated between the colonists of South Australia and the Aborigines with whom they have been brought into contact, so that, notwithstanding the great defects of system which have been pointed out, instances of mutual personal aggression have been very few—one or two murders have lately been committed by natives on the persons of settlers. We are not able to say what may have been the provocation or excitement which has led to them; but it is certain that they have brought into view the difficulties inherent in the present state of things.

*From the South Australian Gazette of the 27th of April, 1839.*

We lament exceedingly to state that an outrage was committed on Sunday last, by three natives, on the person of a shepherd of Mr. Gilles's; and which, so far as our information goes, appears to have been an unprovoked and most deliberate attempt to murder. As the consequences that have already resulted from this affair are exceedingly serious, and as the relations hitherto existing between the settlers and the native population may thereby be still further affected, we consider it our duty to lay before the public the actual facts, as they appear from the official documents before us.



On Monday morning last, Mr. Stuart, Inspector of Police, made the following report to the Government :—

Inspector Stuart reports that about two o'clock yesterday he received information that the shepherd of O. Gilles, Esq., had been murdered that morning by the natives. The Superintendent and Inspector immediately proceeded to the above gentleman's sheep station on the Torrens, and there found the shepherd lying on a litter, dangerously wounded. Upon questioning the sufferer, it appeared that at about 11 o'clock in the morning three natives came round the flock which he had in charge, evidently for the purpose of killing some of the sheep, when one of the natives got behind him and struck him a violent blow on the back of the neck with a waddie, and he fell senseless on the ground; after which they thrust a small spear into his body. When the shepherd recovered himself, he found the natives had disappeared; he then managed to crawl, in his wounded state, to the brow of the hill overlooking the river, and call for assistance, which he shortly obtained from a person attending sheep on the other side of the Torrens.

Mr. Nash, surgeon, the Hon. the Advocate-General, and C. B. Newenham, Esq., the sheriff, arrived immediately after the police, when the surgeon at once recommended the removal of the wounded man to town, there being a cart in attendance. The sufferer, attended by Mr. Nash, was accordingly removed to the residence of O. Gilles, Esq. The shepherd states he can swear to one of the natives who committed the outrage, and from the circumstance of their having two dogs with them, both of which are fully described, great hopes are entertained that the perpetrators will be apprehended and brought to justice.—*Austral-Asiatic Review*, May 14.

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In another part of our paper will be found a paragraph narrating the facts, as far as they have been ascertained, connected with the spearing of Mr. Gilles's shepherd.

This is an occurrence which affords ample scope for reflection on our present position in relation to the aboriginal inhabitants of South Australia. In the first place we may ask, what is the condition of the black man now, as compared with that in which we found him on our arrival? We found him in the most abject state of human existence—naked, brutish, idea-less,—ignorant of the uses of huts or canoes, and scarcely knowing the use of fire. After a residence of nearly three years among us what has he become?—Not less savage, but much less simple. Not less destitute, but far more craving. Less ignorant of the need of clothing, but scarcely more shielded by its use. Not a whit more intellectual, yet far more cunning. With the exception of smoking, drinking, and a few other such accomplishments, he has learnt nothing from us. In fact he is the savage whom we found here, with his natural characteristics aggravated instead of ameliorated, by contact with civilization. However degraded he may have been before he knew us, he then walked erect, with all the dignity of a being unconscious of

superiors ;—he now skulks from door to door, with the whining sycophancy of an English beggar, coveting the luxuries and soliciting alms of the white man.

Yet they have a Protector and an Instructor. Wisdom and benevolence dictated those appointments. Perhaps the gentlemen on whom devolve the important duties attached to them, will inform us whether or not our account of the state of the natives is correct ; and if it is, what remedial measures have been really carried into effect ? If such be the state of the aborigines, what is likely to be the state of the character of the collision between ourselves and them, of which the Grand Jury expressed apprehension, in their presentment, a few weeks since ? These are questions of especial moment, as regards the gentlemen alluded to.

In our opinion, to *instruct* the natives is the only way to fit them for permanent friendship with us ; and the surest way to *protect* them, is to instil into their minds the knowledge of right and wrong, and thereby prevent the commission of acts which, if persisted in, will inevitably produce retaliation the most deadly and calamitous. A system of violence on their parts, will arm not only the evil passions of the white man against them, but also the first law of nature, “self preservation ;” and thus may be commenced a series of conflicts, the probable end of which will be the extermination of the poor blacks, whom we have made dependent on us by occupying their hunting grounds, and scaring their accustomed food to a distance.

As concerns merely the safety of individuals, this is a question of more importance in the rural districts than in the city. Here numbers inspire a feeling of security. There, in spots innumerable, a few white men are isolated from their fellows. It is full time then that the colonists should know what, if any thing, has been or is being done by the officers alluded to, to eradicate the habits of injustice and cruelty which are inseparable from barbarism.

The Aborigines, we contend, are entitled to receive at our hands at least three things—civilization, food, and protection. How much of the former we have conferred on them let their present condition, as apparent to the most careless observer, decide. Rations are provided for them by the authorities, but we believe not on a plan to form or cherish habits of thrift and industry. The fact is certain that they wander, begging from house to house, and in some cases demand what they cannot obtain by solicitation. Protection they are also entitled to—so is the white man. As we observed before, the surest protection of the one is so to enlighten him that he shall not draw on himself the penalties due to aggression on the life or property of the other.

—*Southern Australian*, April 24, 1839.

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The Adelaide natives have stated and reasoned thus : three black men you say have killed a white man, if they have we know nothing of it. We believe them to be of another tribe. We have them not

in our power, if we had we would give them up. Several of our people have gone to assist in apprehending them, yet you withhold the food you have been used to give us, even from our old and blind men, our women and children. When you came to live among us you drove away from our lands the kangaroo and other animals we formerly fed on ; but you gave us instead bread, rice, and sugar, and we were satisfied. Without any fault on our part you have now taken it from us. We ask for it, and you tell us to go to this place and to that, and get food for ourselves. The places to which you would send us are the hunting grounds of other black men, who would kill us if we hunted on them. We cannot starve. We must therefore kill the bullocks and sheep of the white man, which now feed where the kangaroo and emu were wont to be found.

Accordingly, having asked for their accustomed rations and been refused,—having threatened and been still refused,—the inevitable result has followed. The natives, as will appear by the melancholy details of another column, have sought their food among the flocks and herds of the colonists. Some lives have already been sacrificed ; and unless prompt and wise measures are adopted, we fear the number will be much augmented. Hunger is as unbearable by the black man as by the white. The former *will* eat, and the latter *will* protect his property. An act therefore which deprives the aboriginal inhabitants of food, bears the relation to bloodshed which cause does to effect.

Offenders, black as well as white, must, on their guilt being proved, receive adequate punishment. Protection the colonists are entitled to and must have. We intreat them not to make that protection difficult or impossible, by acting in a spirit of retaliation. Should such a spirit obtain among us, it will render the colony a scene of continual warfare, property valueless, and life insecure. Let us remember that the natives are barbarians, while we boast of having been born in the most civilized portion of the globe. If we have already acted towards them in accordance with their own principles of justice, let us not also imitate their savage and antichristian custom of revenge.

We came to their beautiful country to enrich ourselves. In doing so we contracted a responsibility with regard to them which we have scarcely yet begun to fulfil. We were not led by Providence so far from our own land for the purpose of mere personal aggrandisement, but chiefly to diffuse around us on this foreign soil the blessings of Christianity and civilization. Whether we are to become the dispensers of these to the blacks, or their exterminators, will depend almost entirely on the course which the government, and the colonists individually, may now take. A just, firm, and enlightened course on the one hand, and discriminating kindness on the other, may yet avert the calamity which appears to be suspended over us.

We are told that the serving of rations to those of the natives against whom there is no imputation of guilt, has been resumed. We trust that such is the fact.—*Southern Australian, May 1, 1839.*

## PUBLIC MEETING.

A meeting was held at the Court-house, on Tuesday, the 7th inst., convened by the sheriff, in compliance with a requisition of which the following is a copy :—

To C. B. Newenham, Esq. Sheriff.

We the undersigned request that you will immediately call a public meeting of the landholders, merchants, and others, to take into consideration the present relations of the colonists with the Aborigines, with a view to adopt measures calculated to afford that protection to all classes of the community to which they are entitled, and to determine on such means as shall restore and perpetuate the friendly intercourse which has hitherto subsisted between the settlers and the natives.

Adelaide, May 1, 1839.

The foregoing requisition was presented on Friday last to C. B. Newenham, Esq., who immediately forwarded the following reply :—

North-terrace, May 3, 1839.

Gentlemen,—In compliance with the requisition forwarded to me, I hereby convene a public meeting of the landholders, merchants, and others, to be held at the Court-house, on Tuesday next, the 7th instant, at the hour of two o'clock, for the purposes so required.

C. B. NEWENHAM, Sheriff.

To the Gentlemen Requisitionists.

Previously to the time appointed, a large assemblage, including most of the respectable and influential colonists, had collected, and long before the chair was taken, the Court-house was crowded to overflowing.

The excitement succeeding the late outrages has had a direct tendency to induce retaliation, and it is highly to the credit of the colonists, that their moral feeling has prevented any such acts—acts which must of necessity involve much bloodshed, and end in the extinction of the black race. I have heard language in relation to the Aborigines, which shows that the heart of the savage may dwell in the bosom of the civilised man. I have heard it asserted, that these men have not only no claim on justice, but that they have no claim to our sympathy—none on our humanity—that they are not even entitled to subsistence. But I rejoice that such feelings are not shown in common among the colonists. What is the fact? We have given these same irreclaimable savages credit for the possession of the finest feelings of human nature; we have acted on the belief that they were grateful and confiding—that they were patient and enduring—harbouring no resentment at our assumption of their country—forgiving the injuries which we cannot but suppose they think they endure—and evincing no desire to revenge those injuries. We are suddenly awakened from this dream; and instead of wondering that savages, scarcely in contact with civilisation, of whose habits, manners, customs, and modes of thought and feeling we are as ignorant as they are of our own, should have committed outrages and murder; it may well excite suspicion in



a reflecting mind, that where all has been left to the chance of events and to that blind fatuity which prefers the punishment of crimes to their prevention, these things have not occurred before. To adopt measures of retaliation, would be unjust and wicked, unworthy of those who possess a giant's strength. There is no glory in warring with the naked savage; and there is no man whose mind is properly constituted who can look upon the shedding of human blood without a feeling of deep and awful responsibility. Let it not be supposed that I am indifferent to the difficulty and danger attendant on the position of the white man, or to his clear and indubitable right to the fullest protection. This must be given promptly, liberally, efficiently; we must have the means for at once repressing outrage, and of affording ample security. If the colony is to prosper we must have all this; and if it is to hold a high rank in the moral esteem of the people of England, it must be done without sacrificing the native population.

Mr. MANN then proceeded to state that Mr. Wyatt accompanied him on the first and only time he (Mr. Wyatt) went among the native tribes: it was in the very case of murder to which allusion had been already made; and it was then ascertained that illicit intercourse took place between the sailors and native women, and the cause of that murder was partially traced to that connection. The intent of that mission was to obtain such knowledge as would enable the council to give efficacy to such measures as might be adopted to prevent the recurrence of events so disastrous. Had that been effected? Do we know more now than we did then of the dialect of the Parangacua or any other tribes? There are families scattered over all the country, each with a different dialect. Has a single dialect been marked? Can we distinguish the persons of those tribes, or do we know any thing of their numbers, or habits, or feelings towards us?

Mr. Stow proposed the following resolution:—

That in order to prove the sincere desire of the colonists to restore and perpetuate the friendly relations hitherto subsisting between the Aborigines and themselves, a committee of gentlemen be formed, whose primary duty shall be to convey to the Government the resolutions of this meeting, and subsequently to suggest such measures as may be necessary for securing protection to both the settler and the native,—to watch over the interests of the Aborigines, and to correspond with the Committee of the Society for their protection, in England;—and that the Committee shall consist of Messrs. McLaren, Morphett, J. B. Hack, J. Brown, and A. H. Davis.—*Southern Australian*, May 10, 1839.

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The *Tasmanian* of 31st May gives the following extract from a supplementary number of the *Southern Australian*, dated 10th inst., with reference to a public meeting which had been held “to take into consideration the present relations of the colonists with the Aborigines, with a view to adopt measures calculated to afford that protection to all classes of the community to which they are entitled, and to determine on such means as shall restore and per-

petuate the friendly intercourse which has hitherto subsisted between the settlers and the natives.”

The meeting is spoken of as one of the largest that has ever been called together in Adelaide ; its resolutions will indicate the objects for which it was convened :—

That while this meeting claims the most ample right of security and protection for life and property in this our adopted country, we cheerfully and willingly admit the right of the Aborigines to equal protection, and the fullest provision for their wants ; that we deeply deplore the murders and outrages recently perpetrated by the Aborigines, both as shaking that feeling of confidence hitherto enjoyed, and as tending to deaden that benevolent interest in the native population, which it has been the object of the colonists generally to foster and maintain.

That this meeting is deeply impressed with the conviction of the inefficiency exhibited in the office of Protector of the Aborigines, and to the almost total neglect of the official instructions under which the head of that department was appointed, are mainly to be attributed the late unhappy events ; and they lament it the more, because repeated expressions of opinion that we were on the eve of such occurrences appear to have been disregarded. That, in order to allay the irritated state of the public mind and prevent those acts of retaliation which will otherwise inevitably occur, it is of the first importance that prudent and wise measures be immediately adopted, and that they be carried into execution with energy and decision.

That it is absolutely necessary for the general safety that the police, the only force existing in the colony, should be maintained in a state of discipline and efficiency ; and that this meeting respectfully recommend to his Excellency the Governor the necessity that exists of forming and organising a larger number of the mounted police, especially for the protection of life and property in the more exposed districts of the colony ; and for the furtherance of this object that magistrates should be appointed in the various districts in which out stations exist, with a constabulary force sufficient to insure protection in such situations.

That this meeting is of opinion that the natives having arms, such as spears and waddies, in their possession, when encamped on the river in the centre of the town, or within its precincts, is highly objectionable, as presenting to them a constant temptation to commit acts of aggression on unprotected females and others who may be passing within their reach ; and that his Excellency the Governor be memorialised on this subject, with the view of endeavouring to prevent the recurrence of any such offences.

That in order to prove the sincere desire of the colonists to restore and perpetuate the friendly relations hitherto subsisting between the Aborigines and themselves, a committee of gentlemen be formed, whose primary duty shall be to convey to the Government the resolutions of this meeting, and subsequently to suggest such measures as may be necessary for securing protection to both the settler and the native ; to watch over the interests of the Aborigines, and to correspond with the Committee of the Society for their Protection in England ; and that the Committee shall consist of Messrs. M'Laren, Morphett, J. B. Haek, J. Brown, and A. H. Davis.

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*A Letter addressed by the Committee appointed at the Public Meeting of the 7th ultimo, to their Constituents.*

Fellow Colonists,—It is with feelings of regret that we resign into your hands the honourable trust with which you invested us,

at a Public Meeting called together at a period of great and general excitement, and for objects of paramount importance.

We are compelled to take this step by circumstances beyond our control, and we proceed to lay before you as our constituents, the motives which influenced our decision. The resolution by which we were appointed defines our duties thus—

“That in order to prove the sincere desire of the colonists to restore and perpetuate the friendly relations hitherto subsisting between the aborigines and themselves, a committee of gentlemen be formed, whose primary duty shall be to convey to the Government the resolutions of this meeting, and subsequently to suggest such measures as may be necessary for securing protection to both the settler and native,—to watch over the interests of the aborigines, and to correspond with the Committee of the Society for their Protection in England.”

In accordance with this resolution, we had the honour of an interview with his Excellency the Governor, at which we communicated the resolutions passed at the public meeting of the 7th May, to which his Excellency forwarded a reply, which has already been before you in both the public papers.

We concur in many of the views expressed by his Excellency in that document; we have however only recently been able to consult on the course we should adopt, and his Excellency having objected to recognise the committee as constituted by you, we consider it impossible for us to discharge the duties of the trust committed to us. His excellency makes no allusion to that part of our duty in reference to suggesting measures for the protection of the settler, but confines our objects by recommending “a committee which will unite with the Government and the Protector of the Aborigines in grappling with the practical difficulties of the case—in raising funds—in finding, employing, and superintending proper agents, and in devising and carrying out salutary arrangements.” This we consider we have not the power to do; we were constituted a committee by you for certain specific objects, some of which do not meet the approval of the Government, and on which his Excellency has expressed himself in terms so much opposed to our impression of your views, that we prefer being relieved from our responsibility. It will be for you to determine, whether a committee such as his Excellency proposed will sufficiently carry out your wishes.

With respect to the important question of raising funds for the use of the aborigines, as recommended by his Excellency, we claim on their behalf as a matter of justice, that they should receive as a right and not as a favour, the support to which they are entitled; it is not simply those whom philanthropy or Christian feeling may influence on whom this is incumbent, it must be a publicly recognized duty, a charge on the whole colony. You also appointed us specially to represent your recorded opinion that the office of Protector of the Aborigines had been grievously neglected; and its important duties, as defined by the Government itself, almost wholly unfulfilled. The course you adopted on that occasion

has called forth from his Excellency an expression of censure on your proceedings, in which we can by no means concur.

We hold it to have been perfectly straightforward, just, and politically correct to condemn the conduct of a public functionary of whose inefficiency your observation and experience gave you unhappily but too abundant means for forming a correct opinion. It was the officer, not the private individual, you condemned; and we have not to this moment either heard or seen any thing which can convict you of having acted on that occasion with a disregard of truth or of justice, in the resolution to which you came on that occasion. That officer continues nominally to execute the duties of Protector, and it is obvious, that it would be impossible for us, as your committee, to co-operate, as the suggestion of his Excellency would require, with him as Protector, knowing as we do that he does not possess your confidence.

We lay before you our reply to his Excellency's letter to us as your committee, and beg to inform you that we shall forward to the Aboriginal Protection Society in England, a full report of all the proceedings connected with this subject. We cannot refrain from expressing our unfeigned regret that his Excellency should have deemed it requisite to assert, that every public officer must hold his opinions on political matters in total subserviency to those of the government, thereby depriving him of the power of exercising the undoubted right of every British subject, that of expressing a free public opinion on all occasions.

Our relations with the natives appear to have been restored to their former state of tranquillity, but we fear we can place no reliance on a state of quietude which is not based on any solid foundation, or on any attempted improvement in their social, physical, or moral condition.

J. B. HACK.  
DAVID M'LAREN.  
JOHN MORPHETT.  
JOHN BROWN.  
A. H. DAVIS.

Adelaide, June 17, 1839.

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Adelaide, 12th June, 1839.

May it please your Excellency,

We have to acknowledge the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 17th May, addressed to "The Committee appointed by the Public Meeting recently held upon the subject of the Outrages committed by the Aborigines;" and we beg leave to apologise for having so long omitted to acknowledge the receipt of it—the principal reason has been the frequent absence from town of some of our number.

We tender your Excellency our most respectful acknowledgements for the promptitude with which you took into consideration the subject which we had the honour of submitting to your Excellency's attention,—for the warm feeling which your Excellency has



ever evinced, both in behalf of the natives, and in regard to the relations between them and the colonists,—and for the fulness and explicitness of your Excellency's reply of the 17th ultimo.

It is peculiarly gratifying to us that your Excellency has appreciated so correctly the motives by which the Public Meeting was actuated; and that your Excellency has expressed your persuasion that the "errors of that meeting sprang from humanity, and from zeal for the public good."

We deeply regret that any part of the proceedings of that meeting, or of ourselves, should have incurred your Excellency's displeasure, at the same time we feel convinced that it would be altogether indecorous in us to enter upon a discussion with your Excellency as to these points, and under this conviction we abstain. With any other correspondent we should have considered it due to the meeting, to the cause, and to ourselves, not to have passed them over in silence.

Your Excellency has been pleased to suggest that if "the Committee of advice proposed by the Public Meeting, would resolve itself into a practical working Committee, eligible or re-eligible annually at a general meeting of subscribers, your Excellency will receive their assistance with the greatest satisfaction." The most particular description of the nature of that Committee, and the enumeration of the objects which it ought to embrace, are stated by your Excellency as being "a Committee which will unite with the Government arrangements," and constitute "a branch of the Aborigines Protection Society in England." We beg to assure your Excellency, that in so far as the object for which we were appointed by the public meeting, accord with those which your Excellency has named, we should be most happy to use our best endeavours to carry them out into practical operation; but as we have no power to change the character of the Committee, as your Excellency has not thought proper to approve of our appointment as made, and as consequently the object of the appointment as contemplated by the meeting, cannot be realized, we feel that only one course is open to us, namely, to resign into the hands of our constituents the trust committed to us, informing them of your Excellency's wishes on the subject, and this we mean to do by an address through the medium of the public press.

Previously, however, to resigning our charge, we purpose in conformity with one of the objects of our appointment, to transmit to the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, a copy of the various documents connected with the late Public Meeting.

Your Excellency will please permit us to remark, that although the terms of the resolutions by which the Committee was appointed, did not express the principle of future eligibility, we certainly should not have accepted any appointment in perpetuity. And further, in regard to the object of raising funds on behalf of the natives, we shall, with your Excellency's permission, submit a few observations.

We consider it of essential importance that the provision for the

support, instruction, and general improvement of the native population, should be placed on a legitimate and permanent basis, and that that provision ought not to be regarded as eleemosynary; but as obligatory on the colony generally, and a matter of right (under certain modifications) on the part of the natives.

We are aware that the Colonization Commissioners intimated in their first report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that they had it under consideration to propose the creation of a "permanent fund for the instruction of the Aborigines," by reserving one-fifth part of the lands sold; but at the same time, as no regulation of this kind has been made, and no necessity for a fund of such extent exists, we respectfully submit to your Excellency the propriety of having adequate permanent provision made for the native population, by the most effective mode consistent with the principles and constitution of the colony.

We are persuaded that until such measure be carried into effect, the requisite funds might be raised by an appeal to the public, but it is well known that in all such cases, those who contribute the funds think themselves entitled to direct and watch over the application of them—a principle interwoven with the history of the liberties of our native country and forming the very basis of her justly admired constitution.

Feeling most deeply the importance of all subjects connected with the native population, and knowing the lively interest which your Excellency takes in them, we are very averse that this communication should assume the character of personality towards the present Protector of the Aborigines.

Your Excellency has been pleased to express very decidedly your disapprobation of the proceedings of the meeting, as affecting that officer. We leave the case in your Excellency's hands. Towards that gentleman, in his private capacity, the colonists generally, and we individually, entertain no feelings but those of respect and affection. At the same time we are persuaded that any individual holding that office may lay his account with having his official conduct publicly canvassed, and it may be, publicly condemned. The novelty of that appointment, the importance attached to it by her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, by the Colonization Commissioners, and by the British Parliament and the British people, concur in rendering this unavoidable.

We have no hesitation in saying for ourselves, that we regret that the Protector of the Aborigines was absent from the public meeting; but we still think that the circumstances under which that meeting was called, justified the measure that it could not with propriety have been indefinitely postponed, waiting his return, and that what we most earnestly desire, and what we believe the colonists generally desire, is to see the important duties attached to that office faithfully and energetically performed. The present happiness and eternal welfare of a most interesting portion of our race demand this. The important interests of the colonists in their lives and property demand it. The character and success of the province demand it.

The British Parliament, the British people (perhaps without exaggeration we may add), and the *world* at large, expect that the Protector of the Aborigines here will do his duty.

Under your Excellency's benevolent administration we pray that this expectation may be realized.

We have the honour to be, &c., &c.

*Southern Australian, June 26, 1839.*

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Whilst the preceding extracts exhibit the very natural sympathy excited in the minds of the inhabitants of Adelaide, on the occasion of the murder of one of their companions by a native of the soil, they show also a laudable desire that the measures of punishment and protection which such occurrences call for, may be free from a vindictive character. It is, however, a remarkable fact, that whilst the colonists have been induced, by the murder above related, to petition that the natives should be obliged to go unarmed, no provision is thought of to secure the natives against the stock-keepers and others who always go armed amongst them. The effect of their doing so may be judged of from the following paragraph, in which the loss of native life is stated without a comment.

*Extracted from the Hobart Town Courier, May 10, 1839.*

We have the pleasure of announcing the safe arrival in the province (South Australia) of Messrs. M'Leod and M'Pherson, from New South Wales, with 500 head of cattle and 1000 sheep. We understand that they only lost four sheep and two head of cattle during the journey. It is reported that they had a rencounter with the Aborigines on the way, and that forty natives were shot.

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So large a portion of this number has been devoted to occurrences in South Australia, that we have scarcely space to allude to other quarters; yet we wish it to be distinctly understood, that we entertain no unkind feeling towards that colony, which, in its disposition towards the Aborigines and its general intercourse with them, has set a bright example to other colonies. We cannot omit the following extract, with which we cordially unite.

*From the Supplement to the Southern Australian, No. 52.*

Colonisation, as hitherto carried on by European nations in all parts of the world, has been attended by a series of tragedies the most appalling. The path of civilised man in savage countries has invariably left behind it a trail of outrage and cruelty which would disgrace the most degraded children of barbarism. Abusing his right to turn the desert into a garden, he has manured his fields with the blood of his aboriginal brethren, and built his cities, not among them, but on their graves. He has destroyed where he was

bound to cherish, and recklessly exterminated where he should have taught the arts and erected the institutions of enlightened freedom.

It is in the power of the settlers of South Australia to disprove that libel against human nature which asserts that oppression and murder by the Europeans are the natural and necessary concomitants of civilisation. It is in their power to exhibit to the world, and to future ages, the example of a nation founded and matured on principles of humanity and justice in the land of the savage. By exercising the forbearance which we have hitherto exercised—by leaving the suppression of violence on the part of the blacks to law and not to vengeance—and by fulfilling those portions of our duty towards the natives which we have hitherto neglected, an end so important will be attained. We trust that all who are colonists of South Australia feel that on each of us, as individuals, devolves a deep responsibility in this matter.

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EXTRACTS

FROM THE

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

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Vol. 1 /

No. VI.

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### Art. I. INDIANS OF BRITISH GUIANA.

THE following very interesting and important information has been communicated to the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, by the accomplished and indefatigable traveller, Robert H. Schomburgk, who has recently returned to this country, after having spent several years in close intercourse with the Indians in whose behalf he has so ably and feelingly pleaded,

The Indians of British Guiana, the poor remnants of those who once ranged in full supremacy over the soil which Europeans and their descendants have now usurped, are at present thinly scattered over a vast extent of land. But few approach from time to time the cultivated regions of the colony, where, by their manual exertions at large wood-cutting establishments, they have contributed to relieve or supply the wants of the colony. By far the greater number, however, inhabit the vast Savannahs, which extend between the rivers Rupununy, Branco or Parima, and the head-waters of the Carony, where, having little to call forth exertion, they live listless and in indolence. The produce of the chace and the cultivation of their cassada-grounds, supply them with the necessaries of life.

It cannot be denied that these tribes, the lords of the soil *de facto*, have been hitherto but little regarded, and less benefited by Europeans; a circumstance the more to be regretted, as the few efforts which have been hitherto made to convert them to the Christian faith, have proved successful. There are many circumstances which are favourable at this moment to the conversion and civilisation of the Indian races in British Guiana, provided the greatest obstacle be removed by Her Majesty's Government, namely the uncertainty of the boundary of that colony. This will become evident from the following circumstance:

Actuated by zeal, and well acquainted with the language and habits of the Indians, the Rev. T. Youde, a member of the Church Missionary Society, founded a mission among the Macusi Indians at Pirara, a village situated on the western bank of the river Rupununy, and between the two peopled mountain chains, the Pacaraima and Conucu mountains. His efforts were crowned with success, and from four to five hundred Indians assembled on the Sabbath, and although in the commencement they attended in their naked and savage state, they received with satisfaction the information of the wonderful works of God, and the tidings of our salvation through Jesus Christ. Schools were founded, and after the lapse of a few months, the benefits derived from civilisation became

evident. They assembled at their religious worship, dressed, and in an orderly manner; and young and old appeared equally zealous to receive instruction in the rudiments of the English language and education. Thus far the work of God prospered; when, under the plea of pressing Indians for the Brazilian navy, one of those slaving expeditions, which have been the practice of that Government for ages, and the bane of the Indian races, appeared at the Brazilian boundary, Fort San Joaquim, or the river Branco. The expedition was to be directed against Pirara, where, from the then populous state of that village, they thought of being able to seize upon a large number of the unsuspecting Indians; but although I succeeded to turn the evil effects and subsequent misery of a descimento from the village Pirara, it fell upon some settlements at the Ursato mountains, at the eastern bank of the river Takatu; and I witnessed with the deepest sorrow, that the number of those who were led away into slavery consisted of forty individuals, namely, eighteen children under twelve years of age, thirteen women, and nine men, of whom only four were under thirty years of age, and two much above fifty. The person who stood at the head of this expedition, had a warrant for his proceedings from the commander of the district, and was assisted by soldiers who belonged to the militia, armed with muskets and provided with ammunition. An expedition of a similar description fell, a few years previous to the latter, upon a settlement in the vicinity of Pirara: it was burnt down, and the inhabitants were led away into slavery. On the remonstrance of a missionary, who had been informed by the Indians of this outrage, the Brazilian Government denied the existence of such a horrible practice, and pretended that the Indians enjoyed equal rights with others of the inhabitants of the Brazilian empire. How groundless these pretensions are, the case just now related proves. Nay, that neither old men, nor women, nor babies were excepted, proves the continuance of the practice in its most atrocious form. This new example of cruelty practised against their brethren failed not to show its effects on those who had settled around the missionary at Pirara. They became unsettled in their mind, and fearing that a similar fate might be prepared for them at an earlier or later period, many fled into the mountains. But as a detachment of Brazilian militia, under Senhor Pedro Ayres, took, at the commencement of this year, possession of Pirara, and delivered an official letter from the commander of the Upper and Lower Amazon to the Rev. Mr. Youde, desiring him to withdraw from Pirara, and to discontinue his instructions to the Indians in the English language and Protestant religion, the dismay amongst the zealous missionary's recently established congregation was great. The Brazilian detachment had orders to see the mandate obeyed, or to enforce it in case of refusal. The missionary removed to the eastern bank of the Rupununy, and after his departure the Indians of Pirara dispersed, and have since wandered in the wilderness.

I returned to the capital of British Guiana in June last, and did not fail to address a memorial on this subject to his Excellency



the Governor in which I have attempted to prove the non-existence of treaties with regard to the south-western limits of British Guiana, and that previous to the arrival of the detachment under Senhor Pedro Ayres, the Brazilians were not further east than the Rio Branco, in actual possession of those regions; while British colonists have been in the year 1811 at Pirara.

If the state of the Indian of Guiana, and the desire to convert him to our Christian religion, and to make him a useful member of our community, be an object worthy of the attention of the Government of her most gracious Majesty, it becomes a step of primary importance to determine the boundaries of British Guiana, in order to afford such of the tribes who are settled within these limits the full protection of the British laws, and the enjoyment of religious liberty, undisturbed by Brazilian slaving expeditions, or the intolerance of the Catholic religion, which, being the only one acknowledged by the Brazilian empire, does not permit the establishment of a different faith in its territory.

The constant dread felt by the Indians of being torn away from their homes and their families, and led into distant regions and into slavery, has prevented them from settling in large numbers; but if they were once persuaded that they were secure within our limits, without entirely leaving the tracts of their forefathers, they would abandon savage life, and become located in considerable bodies in villages, anxious to receive instruction in our religion; and if not the present generation, their descendants may intermix with the white population, and prove useful members of social life.

From the opportunity which I have enjoyed for the last four years that I have been travelling among the Indians of British Guiana and the adjacent territories, of making personal observations on their character and disposition, I do not hesitate to say that they wish to become civilised and to adopt our manners. What further proof is needed than the example of Pirara? When I visited that village in 1835—6, it consisted of a few huts and about 100 inhabitants, perfectly naked, and indulging in savage life and paganism. Polygamy was prevailing among them; but the first seeds of religion had been sown by a missionary of the Church Society, who had paid them a short visit some time previous to my arrival. It had awakened the desire to know more of that book which the white man possessed; and their wish was partly realised when the Rev. T. Youde settled among them. In anticipation of his arrival, they had constructed, unassisted by whites or their descendants, and solely according to their own ideas, a chapel and school-house, and a dwelling for the missionary, which, although rude, afforded some comfort and protection against the inclemency of the weather. The village increased now rapidly, and when I revisited it in 1838, it consisted of thirty-two Indian huts, and a population of 300 Maucisis. The Rev. T. Youde arrived in June 1838, and improvement followed upon improvement; and the greater number of those who formerly went naked were now seen to adopt our dress, although in a simple form: poverty prevented the others from doing

the same. From 100 to 150 Indians, young and adults, received daily instructions in the rudiments of the English language, in numbers, &c.; but for all in our blessed religion and psalmody. Many of those who had indulged in polygamy abandoned this heathenish custom, and promised, in the house of worship and before the minister of the only true God, their faith to one wife. This was done in the short period of a few months. What more might have been effected, had the new mission at Pirara not been destroyed by Brazilian interference! As it is, it will serve as a convincing proof that the most uncivilised Indians at the remotest boundary of British Guiana, are disposed to adopt civilisation if it be tendered to them; and I submit now, with all deference, whether it is not worthy the humane endeavours of Her Majesty's Government, to encourage the disposition of these savage tribes to shake off the habits of their former life, and to embrace Christianity and civilisation, by affording them the protection of British laws.

I have no doubt in my mind, that if the boundaries of British Guiana were once determined by stable treaties with the adjacent territories, the colony would make such provisions as to forward the plan of extending civilisation to the indigenous tribes; and as proof that the best feeling towards such a measure is at present prevailing in British Guiana, I extract a portion of a speech, delivered by Governor Light, at a session of the Colonial Legislature, on December 12, 1838.

“ We used these people as auxiliaries; they were useful and faithful; we made them presents—often misapplied, too often baneful; their influence brought much larger numbers of Indians than at present are within our borders. It is evident if some equally powerful motives were presented, they would again appear. We owe them a debt; let us endeavour to repay it in a useful way to ourselves; but let it be beneficial to a fallen race.

ROBERT H. SCHOMBURGK.’

It may not be amiss here to remind our readers of a letter from the same gentleman, which was addressed to our President as long ago as August 1838, and is inserted in No. 2 of our Extracts. It not merely sets forth the anxieties and exertions of the Indians of Guiana to obtain instruction; but describes the almost insurmountable obstacle to their protection and advancement, from the same cause which is complained of in the present communication. In our third number, a letter from John Scoble, Esq., dated the 1st of June last, contains his strong testimony to the good dispositions of these Indians, and similar complaints of the difficulties and dangers by which they are surrounded. We feel persuaded that the colonial authorities are not indisposed to afford assistance to these Aborigines; but the support of the Government in this country is essential. It is not merely the defect of a well-contrived and efficiently-executed system in the treatment of aboriginal tribes, which here, in common with all our other colonies possessing Aborigines, is most seriously felt; but the conduct of our professedly

civilised neighbours and allies, and the settlement of the boundary which they violate with their atrocities, demand prompt interference, not less for the honour of our country than for the deliverance of our outraged and defenceless fellow subjects.

We earnestly solicit the availing support and co-operation of all whom commercial or other relations with British Guiana may enable to exert a beneficial influence in this cause, either in this country or amongst the colonists.

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## Art. II. INDIANS OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

We have still to complain of the want of facts respecting this most interesting class of Aborigines; and we would earnestly solicit our correspondents, and others who may possess the information which we desire, to favour us with well-authenticated communications; being fully persuaded that there are no natives whose present position exhibits a stronger claim on British aid, or whose character is more calculated to engage a lively interest in their favour.

### *Letter from the Indian Chief Hesh-ton-a-quet, to Sir Augustus d'Este, Bart.*

Some of our readers may recollect the Chippeway Indian chief, who was brought to this country a few years ago, under false pretences, and made to appear in several theatres, to exhibit his dexterity as a marksman by shooting with a rifle-ball an apple in the hand of one of the performers. The following letter from him was recently received by Sir Augustus d'Este, and will be particularly interesting to those who co-operated with the excellent and benevolent baronet in procuring the return of the chief and the remnant of his companions.

Salt Point, May 11, 1839.

Dear Sir,—I received your letter of the 17th of September, 1838, which gave me the great pleasure of hearing that you are well, and I hope that the Great Spirit will preserve you in that state. As for myself and family, we are well. I lost, some few months past, the younger of my daughters, which could not be helped. I have been journeying a great deal since I returned from England; but to my sorrow I now see clearly what you say in your letter to be the truth. The Government (that of the United States) has induced me to sell the reserves we had on the Lake St. Clair and River St. Clair, which is paid in instalments yearly; and they want me to remove to the Mississippi, which is a thing that I will not do. In about two weeks from this date, I hope to get all the Indians together, and consult where we will make a choice of some place in Upper Canada to make a permanent residence. When I returned from England, all the good counsel that you and the Doctor gave

me to show to my brethren here, I got them together and told them word for word—that they must embrace Christianity, and become good farmers ; for let any person be what he will, he must work for a living. The missionary that is at St. Clair at present is a fine man, and I think he will do well for the Indians. I have been to hear him, and I think a great deal of him, and of his interpreter likewise. I have had the visit of two chiefs of the Pottawattomi tribe, formerly from Greenbay and Millwake, and other places on Lake Michigan. They requested me to write for them, to see whether they could get a piece of land sixty miles above Goodrich. They are 600 in number, and will be followed by more. The two reserves that I showed you or marked out when I was in England, I think will be the place where we will emigrate to and live as Christians and farmers. In two weeks' time from this, we will get together and write to you, when we will make a choice and want you to use your influence for us ; for we want it, and all the help that you can afford us ; for there is no day that goes over my head but that I think of you and all other friends that I left in your country. I hope, after sitting down and getting my business in a fair way, I shall probably make a journey to England once more. I hope you will remember me to all my friends, and shake them by the hand for me.

I remain, your obedient servant and friend,  
HESH-TON-A-QUET."

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### Art. III. INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES.

" We presume," observes a Philadelphia paper, " that Mr. Van Buren will hardly have the assurance to advise Congress that we are everywhere at ' peace,' when our Florida expenditures reach some 10,000,000 dollars a-year. There is too much reason, moreover, to apprehend serious collisions upon our western frontier. In that quarter, the fruits of General Jackson's Indian policy are developing themselves with a fearful celerity. Accounts from the West represent the tribes in that quarter in a state of ferment and agitation that threaten a general outbreak. Should such an event occur, we may prepare for the most formidable and destructive Indian war that has ever desolated our borders. If some few hundred wandering Seminoles in Florida have been able to elude for so many years the vigilance and valour of all the troops that we can send against them ; if they have been able to butcher so many families with comparative impunity, to destroy hundreds of the most valuable lives in our little army, and to absorb expenditures to the amount of 40,000,000 dollars in an unavailing effort at their extermination ; what are the miserable prospects of a conflict with more than a hundred thousand well-provided Indian warriors, not confined to swamps and morasses of a peninsula, but with a refuge ground, running from the Mississippi to the Pacific ? A feeling of deep alarm prevails along the frontiers of Missouri and Arkansas, and where they have the most



reason to know the disposition and purposes of the Indian tribes, the apprehensions of a bloody catastrophe are daily gaining confirmation in the public mind.”—*Atlas*, Dec. 7, 1839.

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“Of late our attention has been much occupied by the treatment of the aborigines in the several countries that we have colonised. It does appear that everywhere we have established our power—not by friendly treaties with the natives, but by driving them out before us. We have not tried to teach them our arts, nor to accustom them to the laws and manners of civilised people; but we have hunted them down as wild beasts; we have driven them away from their villages; we have broken up their settlements; we have taken possession of their land—the land that for ages belonged to their fathers; we have used our superior art and skill to drive the poor natives, the owners of the soil, far back into the wilds and fastnesses of woods and mountains. And even there we do not let them rest in peace: tiger like we prowl around the remaining few: we watch them, because we are their plunderers; we hate them because we are their destroyers; and any attempt on their part at retribution is visited with a savage fury that knows no mercy, and that seeks to be gratified by the utter extirpation of the primitive people. Two little paragraphs have been, for some days past, going the round of the papers—they refer to Texas, and are certainly deserving of particular notice. The first states—that a party of fifteen men, a woman, and two children, on their way to a settlement above Austen, the new seat of government, were attacked by Indians and all murdered. The second mentions—that a force of four hundred and fifty men were still engaged in traversing the interior for the purpose of *displacing* the Indians, and protecting the settlements. We have not the least doubt that the first account would be read with all due horror; and very likely the blood-thirstiness of those wild Indians would be spoken of with a shudder; and far off as Texas is, there might be some sorrow for the victims, for those who fell by the rifle, or by the tomahawk of the red man; and this indignation against the savage heathen and pity for the murdered, would be followed by satisfaction on finding that so large a body of men, well armed, were guarding the settlers from surprise and from aggression, and that in all probability those very Indians would be killed who had cut off the body of settlers. People will never think of the long years of oppression which have goaded the red Indian to revenge. They will never think that those very settlers were about to possess themselves of lands, the property of the Indian. They will not bear in mind that this very armed force has long been chasing down the last remnant of the natives. Displacing indeed—burning huts—shooting men—turning out women and children to perish from starvation—trampling under foot every semblance of justice—carrying on a ceaseless system of wholesale robbery and murder—this is called displacing! Such has been, and is the mode of acting of those who insult the name of Christianity by calling

themselves Christians. Christian plunderers—Christian bloodhounds—Christians armed and scouring the country! Christians before whom the native Indians fall like dogs—Christians who, grasping at the possessions of others, spare none whose just rights oppose them. No wonder they can hunt down the American Indians: but is it any wonder he should defend himself from those western Thugs? Is it any wonder that where the white man is to be found, the red man should seek to destroy him? On their own heads must be the blood of those settlers. They might have taught the Indian better. They might have lived in friendship with him. They might have trained him to civilisation. The white man might have<sup>s</sup> been a blessing; but everywhere he has been a curse”—*Dublin Weekly Herald, Dec. 21, 1839.*

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#### Art. IV. “EENOOLOO APIC,” THE ESQUIMAUX.

(*From the Aberdeen Herald.*)

“Among the “arrivals” of the week, a prominent notice is due to that of the intelligent and interesting Esquimaux, whom Captain Penny, of the *Neptune*, has induced to quit the confines of the frozen zone, for the comparative amenities of our “northern city cold,” “Eenoo,” or “Bobbie,” as he is familiarly called, is the son of the chief of his tribe, by one of the two consorts, whom your Esquimaux princes are privileged to keep, in that cold climate, He is about twenty years of age, stands about five feet in height, and is nearly of equal breadth, being as fat as any “sealgh,” on his native shores. His countenance, which is cut a good deal after the fashion of the Chinese Tartar, is of a uniformly darkish hue, unmixed by any of the roseate tint, whether natural or acquired, which, in some faces familiar to us, is considered either indicative of health, or of a free and easy mode of life. His air is jet black, straight and glossy. His eye is of the same hue, small, and lively. His countenance is generally expressive of extreme good nature, and a creditable share of intelligence. It seems that “Bobbie,” has cherished a desire to see the world for some years, but, until this season, his mother’s fears for his safety, and his own sense of filial duty, forbade the fulfilment of his wishes. About three years ago all his “traps” were ready for the voyage, and he was taking a fond farewell of his kindred, when his mother’s tears overcame his resolve, and he bounded off from the scene of temptation and tenderness, with the speed of a rein-deer! His desire for travel, however, returned with the return of his friend the captain; and his mother’s scruples were overcome by the assurance of his being restored to her next season, with certain substantial proofs of the kindness of the “Inglese,” in the shape of muskets, powder, and shot, for his sire, and something useful or ornamental for his mamma.

“Bobbie” has been but a few days with us, but he has already established a very extensive acquaintance; with all whom, his

good nature and *naivete* of manners render him a great favourite. Our only wish is, that his numerous friends may not kill him with too much kindness. Although he is, apparently, very robust, yet much caution will be necessary in the matter of his health, until he shall have become a little "cuddomed" with our climate, and mode of living, both of which are so very different from his own. He has already learned to "patter our lingo" a little, and seems to have no difficulty in getting about our most unmouthable words. It is the intention of Capt. Penny to have him put to school, and to afford him every possible opportunity, should he be spared, as we trust he will, to complete the limited period of his stay here, of acquiring such knowledge, and forming such habits, as may be useful to himself, and to his simple tribe. "Bobbie" is, of course, quite astonished, and very much delighted, with every thing he sees here, and he already anticipates how he will astonish the natives, when he gets back to his own country. It will be borne in mind, that he is of the "blood Royal;" we can't say whether he is "heir apparent;" but if there are any doubts about the question of succession, we should think that the importance which his knowledge of foreign matters must confer on him, will enable him to distance all competition.

"Captain Penny has found that he has a correct notion of the geography of his country, and is inclined to think he may be able to impart some important information regarding the places where whales "most do congregate," now that they seem to have forsaken their old haunts.

"Yesterday was a great day with him, for he took the water in his own canoe, rigged out in proper costume, and armed with his fishing and fowling spear. A great many persons were attracted by the novelty of the thing. He displayed great skill and gracefulness in propelling his queer-looking craft, in the lower part of the harbour, and up the Dee, and gave a satisfactory proof of his dexterity as a sportsman, by spearing a duck, which was procured from a neighbouring "preserve." He seems rather fond of such game, for a fleet of adventurous ducks, that had ventured a good way from shore, narrowly escaped his seldom-erring aim. The owner, however, alarmed for their safety, gave the sportsman to know that the ducks were not ocean-game. Every body seemed highly pleased with his feats, and he seemed himself much gratified with this opportunity of doing the agreeable. He is not the first Esquimaux, we believe, who has seen this place; for, some seventy years ago, one of the species was picked up in the bay, in his canoe, having, as was supposed, lost his way, and been borne hither on the "the tempest's wing." He was in a state of great exhaustion, and did not long survive his landing. His canoe is to be seen in the Museum of Marischal College."

Art. V. EXTRACTS FROM RECENT LETTERS FROM  
JAMES BACKHOUSE,

A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, NOW TRAVELLING WITH G. W.  
WALKER, IN SOUTH AFRICA.

“Several of the Hottentots are members of the church, but their pastor says he is much better satisfied with regard to the piety of some of the women than with the generality of the men. The latter are much exposed to temptations when they go out to sheep-shearing, harvest, &c., and the tendency to drunkenness has been increased by several having been taken as soldiers to the Caffre war, and furnished with spirit rations; and some of these have not returned to their wives and families. Surely war is diabolical in all its forms. Europeans provoke the natives of Southern Africa to hostilities, they then constrain the natives of another part of the same country to fight against their neighbours; and they demoralize those they take as soldiers, by giving them strong drink. Oh, that men would remember that the anthem sung by angels at the birth of Christ was “Glory to God in the highest. On earth peace. Good will to men;” and that this is unalterable character; and that neither war nor any thing else that accords not with this anthem has any legitimate claim to the name of Christian; but is earthly, sensual, devilish: and that all systems of human expediency that are opposed to this gospel character are the ebullitions of unbelief, and practically demonstrate that those who adopt them think themselves wiser than God; violating the great principles of love, justice, and truth, which he has laid down for the rule of human actions, to bring about their despicable and sinister ends.”

“The farmers or boors of this neighbourhood (Zoar) had for some time been in the practice of sending their cattle upon the hills of the missionary property to eat the scanty grass and to drink up the water of a little spring or ‘fountain;’ and on the missionary prohibiting this, they were displeased, and complained of the interference, saying that they thought it improper, as the place was only for Hottentots. The missionary signified, that, if the place were his own, he might do as he pleased in permitting them; but, that being placed there to take charge for the Hottentots, he must be faithful to his trust. The neighbouring boors are not willing to give more than 2rds. 3s. a month wages to the Hottentots, with victuals; while, at the present season—the harvest—they can obtain one to two Rds. a day in the Gras Veld; many of them are therefore gone to a considerable distance to work. The disposition to treat Hottentots with indignity is very conspicuous in this part of the country (Zoar): which from its secluded situation may reasonably be expected to be longer in coming under the influence of advancing civilisation than those parts through which there is more traffic. We have found it almost impracticable to obtain suitable food for the one who has accompanied us on this journey, for money. A little meagre soup or gruel, or a bit of bread of defective quality,



seems to be thought quite sufficient for a Hottentot. We desired Isaac, when treated in this way, to say we would willingly pay for better food; and on doing so on one occasion, the mistress of the house was informed, and she went into the kitchen and inquired, 'Where is this Hottentot that cannot eat such food as serves other Hottentots?' The poor fellow had both killed and dressed a sheep for the family, but they had not the consideration even to give him a scrap of the offal. It is to be hoped that the residence of T. Gregoroosik and his wife among these people may improve them. He promised to read our tract to the people, with some of whom we had a little conversation, in which they expressed their gratitude to the people of England for taking an interest in their welfare, and satisfaction at seeing Englishmen there.

"Zoar is the only missionary station in the country belonging to the South African Missionary Society, and so small is the interest of the Dutch population in the welfare of the Hottentots, that they suffered it to go to decay; and the personal expenses of the present missionary are borne by the Berlin Society! T. G. thinks there is but one pious Hottentot at Zoar. Notwithstanding our Hottentot was promised some supper last night, and retired into the kitchen (a shed detached from the house) to wait for it, he had to spend the night in the field where the horses were, without any, having to be there to keep them from straying into the corn. Having sufficiently proved the manner in which he was liable to be treated, G. W. W. requested him to be in the way when our breakfast came in, and from the ample provision of eggs and bread set before us, furnished him with a good meal: he also took an opportunity when paying for our entertainment to expostulate with the mistress of the house on the impropriety of treating Hottentots in such a manner."

"In the course of the forenoon we reached Riverdale in the Vet River, where there are a few scattered houses and a place of worship—a chapel of ease to the Dutch church at Swellendam—lately erected by voluntary subscription. W. Robertson visits the place once a quarter, and in the interim A. Keat, a pious young man, officiates gratuitously as minister. After W. Robertson's first sermon here, he requested the Hottentots who had necessarily been absent in the morning, taking care of the wagons and horses of their masters, to assemble in the afternoon; but he found the prejudices of the Dutch so strong that some of them were much disturbed at the idea of the Hottentots coming into the 'kirk!' and some of them got up a sort of protest against their being allowed to assemble there. On the next occasion W. Robertson stated his intention of again preaching to the Hottentots, but admitted that as the congregation had built the chapel at their own expense, they had a right to control its use; and after commenting upon the duty of preaching to the Hottentots, as fellow-heirs of salvation, he insisted that those persons who objected to their being admitted into the 'kirk,' should meet him in the vestry, and have their objection recorded, along with their names, in the church books, that they might not have the opportunity when their objection might be spoken of, of saying

that W. R. lied, as some had said of Dr. Phillip, because he had said an order had been given to keep Hottentots and dogs out of the church. Twenty persons came forward and thus had their names recorded; and there is reason to believe others were like-minded with them, who shrunk from this ordeal. This, however, was not the case with all, nor, perhaps, with a majority; the congregation on sacramental occasions, amounting to about 700. W. Robertson then stated his determination to preach to the Hottentots, notwithstanding they had been denied the accommodation of the chapel; and invited them into one of its external angles, which was shaded from the sun, and into which one of the vestry-doors opened; at the same time inviting such of the congregation as wished to be present into the vestry; but of this description a larger number came than the vestry could contain, and the others quietly took their station outside the Hottentots!

“The prejudices of the colonial Dutch will probably give way under the influence of more Christian and rational instruction than they have formerly had, especially when slavery shall have passed away, and the oppression of the native tribes is no longer countenanced or connived at by the government.”

“The number of Hottentots at this institution (Pacaltsdorp) is about 600; when a vagrant law was proposed in the colony the effect of which would have been to infringe upon the liberties of this people and others of colour, about 1200 resorted hither. Perhaps many well-intentioned people were wheedled into an approval of this measure, which happily was frustrated, but its origin was certainly among the enemies of freedom.

“Visited the Infant School, in which there are about ninety pupils under the able instruction of one of W. Anderson’s daughters; and spent some time in conversation with our friends here. Dr. Phillip informs us that the infant school system was introduced into Africa by the liberality of our friends at Tottenham and in that vicinity, who raised a subscription for that purpose when he was in England in 1828. This has now become a mighty agent in civilising and raising the African tribes. And a contribution of the government of £3000 in addition to £1500 appropriated by the London Missionary Society to the object, is enabling them to erect suitable school-houses. When the first missionaries came here, they found the Hottentots in a most wretched condition, and greatly oppressed: they were living in holes or in most miserable shelters, in an adjacent sand-hill, near to which was a wood, to which the young men fled on the approach of boors, lest they should be subjected to compulsory service; and they were almost naked, wearing only a few skins or a kaross. Some of them now have comfortable cottages, but a large number live in rude thatched huts of interwoven branches and mud: they are universally clothed in cotton or leathern garments, and are in appearance, in a common way, about equal to the people of the lower class in the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, perhaps on a first day superior, for the Hottentots make themselves very clean on the first day of the

week. Many of them have felt some measure of the power of the gospel; and they are kept under missionary instruction at situations of this kind. Another man went to a boor for a term of years to learn wagon making; he was kept at mere drudgery, and taught little that was useful: he returned to the institution, where one of his own countrymen instructed him, and the same man is now making wagons for his former master, who sells them to other boors as his own manufacture! When W. Anderson came to the country, he says, that many of the boors, by whom the Hottentots had been reduced to a painful sort of bondage, had such a contempt for them that they would not condescend to call them when they wanted their services, but would whistle to them like as to dogs: and instead of speaking, if they thought the Hottentots negligent, would strike them with a samboe (a whip formed of a single piece of the hide of the rhinoceros or hippopotamus), the Hottentot might not look his oppressor in the face when speaking to him (and I have been told on other respectable authority that many of the old Dutch would not allow a Hottentot to eat any victuals over which thanksgiving had been pronounced! but would rather give it to a dog: and to such a pitch had the ignorance of these people proceeded that some of them denied that the Hottentots possessed a soul! The people at Pacaltsdorp have expressed a desire to have the small parcels of land for their houses and gardens allotted them as freeholds, in order that they might build better houses and make more substantial gardens; but they have some fears that if this were granted them, the government might impose a Field-cornetcy upon them in the person of some one not of their own people; and as burnt children dread the fire, so they dread the opening of such a door, lest oppression should enter in."

"Pacaltsdorp is badly situated for water. In this respect it is a monument of the oppression the Hottentot race were formerly under. They were driven from favorable situations, and took refuge in places where they could easily hide themselves."

"The Civil Commissioner Berg told us he would admit the truth of all Dr. Phillip had said of his countrymen, the Cape Dutch, and that he might have said far more. There are many pious individuals among the Hottentots; much prejudice, however, exists against them, among the neighbouring white population: and though the Hottentots are greatly raised above the state in which the missionaries found them here, yet they cannot be regarded as a flourishing or rapidly rising community; but here they have been shielded from destructive oppression, and many of them have been availingly instructed in the great truths of the gospel.

"There are several huts of Fingoes about this place (Long Kloof): they are rude structures of bee-hive form, made with slender boughs and sedges. The people are much darker than the Hottentots: they wear skin karosses; the children are naked. Some Fingoes who passed, said they were leaving a place on account of being insufficiently supplied with bread, and having but 1s. a month wages.

“ From the adjacent farms a considerable number of slave apprentices resort to Dysall’s Kraals, on first days for instruction ; which they receive from Thomas and Anna Melville and their daughter Jannett. T. Melville is also to itinerate among the neighbouring farms, and the school is to be kept daily, when the arrangements can be completed ; but the station has only been lately occupied as the residence of a missionary : it is an out-station for cattle of about 5000 acres, belonging to Pacaltsdorp, and the intention is not to collect the people upon the place as residents—a plan that was useful when missionary stations were needful as places of refuge from oppression, but which was attended with evils, and is not now very desirable within the colony. The apprentices come from various distances, some exceeding twelve miles, for religious instruction ; some walking, others riding their own horses. Some of these people possess bullocks and wagons ; and several have purchased the residue of their bondage, and that of their wives and families at a high rate, and still remain in the service of their old masters. Generally they appear to have been well treated as slaves. Having been less oppressed than the Hottentots, because the slaves were the property of their masters. The apprentices generally possess more energy of character than the Hottentots.

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#### Art. VI. THE ABORIGINES OF PORT PHILIP.

We find by the Sydney papers lately received, that the natives of Port Philip have been committing alarming depredations. Several persons have been murdered, and others wounded ; flocks and herds scattered and destroyed ; and lately the inhabitants of Melbourne were even threatened with an invasion by these poor ignorant creatures. There is no doubt that the inhabitants of Port Philip have, by want of prudence in their intercourse with the natives, brought this upon themselves. We rejoice that, as yet, we have not to record any acts of atrocity committed by the Aborigines of South Australia ; and we hope that such cautious measures will be adopted by our fellow-colonists as may keep our friendly relations with the original proprietors of the soil firm and unshaken. The residents of Port Philip have addressed a Memorial to His Excellency Sir George Gipps, praying for protection against the incursions of the Aborigines ; and to this Memorial Sir George Gipps returned the following answer, which we copy from the “ Australian ” of the 29th June, thinking it may be interesting to our readers.

Colonial Secretary’s Office,  
Sydney, June 22, 1838.

SIR,---I have the honour, by command of the Governor, to acknowledge the receipt of a Memorial, dated 8th June, addressed to His Excellency and the Executive Council, and signed by yourself and other gentlemen interested in the settlement at Port Philip.



In this document it is represented that the natives of that part of the country have assumed a hostile attitude, assembled in large numbers, and committed many outrages, whereby several persons have been murdered, others have been obliged to abandon their flocks and herds, and the intercourse between the settlement and the rest of the colony, if it has not already ceased, has been rendered an undertaking of imminent danger to life and property. It is also stated that you are not aware of any aggression on the part of her Majesty's white subjects, whereby those atrocities could have been provoked; but ascribe them to the natural cupidity of the Aborigines, their want of moral principle, and their belief that forbearance in Europeans proceeds from impotence or fear, experience having shown that attempts at conciliation have hitherto led only to acts of greater aggression, which would never have occurred had the coercion which was ultimately found necessary been resorted to in the first instance. Your Memorial further points out, that unless protected by Government, the settlers will undoubtedly take measures to protect themselves; and it prays, therefore, that to obviate the painful consequences of such a proceeding, effectual steps may be immediately taken to repress and prevent such aggressions on the part of the Aborigines, and to protect her Majesty's white subjects in the peaceful prosecution of their lawful pursuits.

In reply, I am directed by his Excellency to inform you, that no person can have felt more concern or regret than he has at the accounts recently arrived from the southern parts of this territory. That, in order to afford to the settlers in those districts all the protection in his Excellency's power, he despatched a party, consisting of an officer and twelve men of the mounted police, to the River Owens, as soon as he heard of the late massacre of Mr. Faithful's men, and that this party has since been increased to twenty-one; so that, with the seven that were originally at Melbourne, there will be a party of one officer and twenty-eight mounted policemen, independently of the military force, which by a recent addition of twelve now amounts to forty-four; and that a discretionary power has been given to the police magistrate at Melbourne to cause parties of infantry to advance, if necessary, into the interior. I am also instructed to inform you, that it is the Governor's further intention to establish posts at convenient distances along the road from Yaas to Port Philip, in order to keep open the communication, and that a permanent addition will be made to the mounted police for this purpose.

Having thus explained the measures which have been adopted, and which his Excellency has reason to hope will be sufficient, Sir George Gipps desires it to be intimated to the gentlemen who signed the Memorial, that as he has the most positive directions from Her Majesty's Government to treat the aboriginal natives as subjects of Her Majesty, it is entirely out of his power to authorise the levying of war against them, or give sanction to any measures of indiscriminate retaliation; and in order that no misapprehension may exist on this subject, he feels bound to declare that nothing which has been done in this colony in former times, or in any other place or colony whatsoever, would, in his opinion, be a justification for departing from the strict obedience which is at all times due to the orders of Her Majesty's Government.

It is doubtless only of late years that the British public has been awakened to a knowledge of what is owing to these ignorant barbarians on the part of their more civilised neighbours; but a deep feeling of their duties now exists on the part both of the Government and the public, as may be proved by reference to the many inquiries which have been lately instituted on the subject, and particularly by the unanimous Address of the House of Commons to his late Majesty, adopted in July, 1834, and by the report of a Committee of the same house, made in the very last

sitting of Parliament, both of which documents are of easy access to the public.

I am directed to acquaint you, that there is nothing in the Governor's instructions to prevent his protecting, to the utmost of his power, the lives and property of settlers in every part of this territory, and that this his Excellency is determined to do. Sir George Gipps, moreover, readily allows, that after having taken entire possession of the country, without any reference to the rights of the Aborigines, it is now too late for the Government to refuse protection to persons who have come hither and brought with them their flocks and herds on its own invitation; though at the same time it must be evident, that every wanderer in search of pasturage cannot be attended with a military force.

In conclusion, I am instructed to notify to you, although the Memorial to which this letter refers is addressed to the Governor and the Executive Council, his Excellency has not deemed it necessary to take the advice of that body on it, as the line of his own duty is so clearly defined that he feels neither doubt nor difficulty as to the course which he ought to pursue.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

E. D. THOMPSON.

To P. G. King, Esq.

## Art. VII. SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

### PROTECTOR OF THE ABORIGINES.

In the last Annual Report the Committee offered some remarks on the nature of this office. The establishment of such an office is in itself an evidence of a gratifying and praiseworthy increase of attention and regard to the rights and interests of the Aborigines, who are deprived of their land, disturbed in their ancient habits, and exposed to unnumbered new and fearful dangers by our schemes of colonisation. But necessary as it may be as a commencing step, and until better means are established, it is obvious that the protectorship, however carefully the appointment may have been made, and however zealously and conscientiously its duties may be performed, is essentially a defective and inefficient institution—dissatisfactory to the officer who holds it, and of partial and imperfect advantage to the natives. The character of the evils to which the Aborigines are exposed is such, that a single protector to a district must be nearly powerless. This is evident from the examples which have been given in former numbers, and from others which will be found in the following pages. What means can he employ to elevate the natives? What security can be found against his deserting or betraying the trust reposed in him? In the case of the *ad interim* Protector, which is stated in this number, the zeal of the colonists has called the officer to his duty and exposed his omissions; but the very name of Protector of the Aborigines presupposes a probable necessity for exertion on behalf of the natives against the misdeeds of the settlers. A system is required which is calculated to act for and upon the natives as a body; and in this respect the plan of Captain Maconochie, stated in No. IV., is entitled to peculiar

commendation, and the suggestion which it offers may be of immense advantage in the formation of measures for the permanent protection and elevation of Aborigines in every quarter.

*To the Editor of the Southern Australian.*

“It is useless now to speak about our *right* to come to New Holland and appropriate a part of it for our subsistence. It is now in vain to talk about the *injustice* of dispossessing the natives of part of their territories, though it were granted that they ever possessed them; every one of us, by coming here, has, in reality, said that we either had such a right—or, not having the *right*, that we, at least, had the *might*, and resolved to exercise it. Let us therefore hear no more about the *right* or *justice* of our proceedings in this respect; or, let every sincere objector on this ground, prove his sincerity, by at once leaving the country which he thinks he has so unjustly taken from another. This, therefore, by a short cut brings us to this point in the argument, viz., that whether by *right* or by *might* we are now located on a part of New Holland, beside a tribe of savages, whose manners and customs differ so much from ours, that we cannot live in peace with each other if they are permitted to follow their own inclinations. In short, *we* must conform to *their* customs, or *they* must conform to *ours*; and there can be no difficulty in seeing, that it must be them who must submit to us. I say *must* not because I think that we have any *right* to force our laws and customs upon them, far less that they are under the slightest obligation to obey us unless they choose; but it is useless to disguise the fact—that we find it necessary, after taking their country, to force our laws upon them, to enable us to retain our possession. We have no better *right* to do so, however, than we have to occupy their country. It is, however, not necessary to discuss even this point; the sole question now being, “how can we most easily bring the natives under our dominion?”

“There appears to be only two ways in which this can be done—either by a physical, or a moral and intellectual force being brought to bear upon them. Physical force may capture them (or rather a tribe or two) and send them to Kangaroo Island, after the fashion of our friends of Van Diemen’s Land. This plan appears particularly revolting to our feelings; but it would be scarcely more unjust than our first taking possession of their country, and then attempting to *force* our civilized manners and customs upon them; so that, upon considering the various aspects of this plan, it may, after all, turn out to be the most humane and benevolent one towards the natives in the long run. 2nd. We may employ our physical force in confining the natives to a particular portion of the land, and treating them as moral patients till they can be safely trusted with their freedom, or, 3rd. We may neglect them a short time longer, and personal safety will soon compel individuals to shoot numbers of them, like so many wild beasts, or put them to death by some other equally *Christian* means.”

“After all the injustice which the whole of us have not scrupled to inflict upon these poor savages, any of the above methods of disposing of them seems repugnant to the feelings of justice and humanity which we still retain ; and our dominion over the natives must, if possible, be of a more moral and intellectual character. Now, therefore, comes the grand difficulty—how and by what means are we to excite their moral feelings and inform their intellects? This is a difficulty of no ordinary magnitude, and can be surmounted only, I fear, by such a combination of intellect, benevolence, and enthusiasm as (however ardently to be wished for) is rarely to be found in any individual. But the attempt must be made, and that quickly ; for it seems that educating them, so as to understand and conform to our laws and customs, is the only alternative left us. The expense of this process, besides the difficulty of execution, may by some be objected to ; but there may be a very short and satisfactory answer given to such objection, which is, that we must either put away the natives by one or other of the physical means already mentioned, as being the least expensive and attended with the least delay, or, if we wish to treat them in a more humane manner, why, we must, of course, pay for doing so, in the same way as Great Britain paid for abolishing slavery in the West Indies.”

“A great difficulty will no doubt be experienced in inducing the natives to labour ; but, to further this most desirable object, might there not be rewards held out to the most diligent? The blacks, no doubt, like their white neighbours, have other wants and desires to be gratified besides the mere filling of their stomachs ; and by finding out these desires, it is very easy holding out the requisite temptation for their gratification. Charity—so called—or rather insane benevolence, which would feed and clothe the natives without asking any return, is, in reality, doing more mischief than can be well conceived ; and no efforts should be left untried of impressing upon the minds of the colonists the evil of such a practice. Such conduct teaches the poor natives a relish for bread, yet affords him not the means of legitimately satisfying his hunger. As well might we teach him there is a God in heaven, and withhold the information that the black man as well as the white, is equally cared for by his Maker.

“Before the natives can be either educated or taught to work with any success, I conceive that their Protector (being surely quite competent to do so) should in the first place, give an account of their manners and customs as fully as possible, and, as regards their mental capacities upon the following particulars.

1. As to the strength of their attachment to their children.
2. As to their attachment to each other.
3. Whether they are of a combative and opposive disposition.
4. Whether they are revengeful or not.
5. Cunning or the reverse.
6. Whether they show any inclination for the mechanical arts, and are likely to become good workmen.



7. Are they naturally of a proud disposition or the reverse?
8. Are they very vain, easily acted upon by flattery or otherwise ministering to their love of applause?
9. Are they of a timid disposition—easily frightened?
10. Do they manifest kindness and benevolence towards each other?
11. What religious ideas have they?
12. Have they any resemblance to the American Indians in the wonderful endurance of pain and other sufferings which it is the boast of the latter to sustain without moving a muscle?
13. Are they honest? Do they respect the rights of each other?
14. Can they readily imitate the manners and customs of others?
15. What are the chief characteristics of their intellect?

An answer to these questions is, I conceive, absolutely necessary to enable any one to frame laws for the natives, and to know what inducements to hold out to secure the observance of those laws. Without some such preliminary investigation we shall in vain attempt the physical, mental, or moral instruction of the natives. Indeed, the attempt would be presumptuous, as it certainly would be foolish and fruitless, to frame laws for a people whose manners, customs, and capabilities were perfectly unknown to us."

#### THE PROTECTOR!

"As that gentlemen takes his instructions *seriatim* we will follow his example:—

1st. To ascertain the number, strength, and disposition of the different tribes, more especially of those in the vicinity of settled districts,

In reference to this instruction numerous impediments to a compliance with it are named, and others are hinted at, but neither the number, strength, nor distinctive disposition of any one tribe is stated, nor is either asserted to have been ascertained. It appears, however, that a thousand words have been collected; but by whom? Probably Mr. Williams can inform us.

2nd. To protect them in the undisturbed enjoyment of their proprietary rights to such lands as may be occupied by them in any especial manner.

As it appears that under this head there was nothing to protect, we give Mr. Wyatt full credit for having done all that was necessary in the matter.

3rd. To encourage as much as possible the friendly dispositions towards the emigrants which at present exist.

"Mr. Wyatt here pronounces a well merited eulogium on the quietness of the blacks, and their friendly feeling towards us. They have with a few isolated exceptions, and those of *recent* occurrence, exhibited *from the first*, a tractable and inoffensive spirit, which if it be now as obvious, is certainly not more so, than when Mr. Wyatt accepted the office of Protector. Why has not Mr. Wyatt shown that he has made use of this docility, as a means for putting our

friendly relations with the natives on an understood and permanent basis ?

4th. To induce them to labour either for themselves or the settlers.

“ On this instruction Mr. Wyatt remarks, that he has done all which he could, but does not state what that may have been. It appears, however, that “ some scores ” of the blacks supply the inhabitants with wood and water, and do other similar offices for them. True, but Mr. Wyatt is just as much the cause of this effect as my Lord Glenelg is. Every inhabitant of Adelaide knows that, at uncertain intervals, one native or another comes to his house, and if he cannot obtain bread, rice, or sugar by begging, he will perhaps consent to the performance of a prescribed task in order to satisfy the want of the moment. But is this occasional and fitful labour what the instruction contemplated ? Mr. Wyatt should have shown that he has endeavoured to teach them the uses of labour, and to train them to regular and habitual industry. Two years is, as Mr. Wyatt observes, a short period to work a material change—but it is a very long one to elapse before a material change is attempted.”

5th. To lead them by degrees to the advantages of civilization and religion.

“ On this head Mr. Wyatt says nothing. Probably he would refer us for information on the subject, to Mr. Oldham, the Instructor, and to the German Missionaries. The Instructions conclude thus :—

With a view to the attainment of the first of these objects, and to facilitate intercourse between yourself and the aborigines generally, you are authorized to engage an interpreter, who will take instructions solely from yourself, and whose whole time will be considered at your disposal. By *sending or accompanying him into the interior, you will be able to ascertain the strength and disposition of each tribe in the vicinity, a point of great importance, not only with regard to the safety of the parties engaged in the country surveys, but also to those settlers whose business may compel them to reside in the interior. You are recommended to endeavour to attach one or two of the most docile and intelligent of the natives particularly to your person, who should habitually accompany you in your excursions.*

“ What does Mr. Wyatt say to this ? Does he favor us with a list of his journeys and their results ? On the contrary he says, that instead of needlessly rambling after the natives, he has encouraged them to the City, to familiarize them with our habits and customs. The bread, rice, sugar, and “ whitey money,” are the temptations which draw the neighbouring tribe into the City, not Mr. Wyatt ; and the habits and customs they acquire in our streets are just those with which accident brings them into contact, bad or good. Thus it appears on evidence which cannot be doubted, that the *ad interim* Protector, who, be it remembered, has occupied the post during four-fifths of the existence of the colony, has not yet carried out one single instruction received by him either in letter or in spirit.’

*Extract from the Exculpatory Letter of the ad interim Protector.*

“Instruction 1st. To ascertain the number, strength, and disposition of the different tribes, more especially of those in the vicinity of the settled districts.”

This may appear a very simple matter, and of easy accomplishment. Not so, however, when it is considered that the different tribes, or rather groups, of natives wander over a very extensive tract of country, having no chiefs, no settled abodes; each group frequently separating itself into smaller divisions of four or five persons for the sake of obtaining subsistence, occasionally encroaching upon the lands of the neighbouring groups, or commingling with them in a half friendly manner; their dialects differing so much that it is frequently difficult, if not impossible, to trace even a radical connexion between them—add to which, that they are generally by no means of a communicative disposition. In the face of these impediments, and others not enumerated, all the tribes in the vicinity of Adelaide, and even to forty or fifty miles distance, are in a greater or less degree known; nearly a thousand words in at least four dialects have been collected; and these dialects have been found to possess a complexity of structure which at once enhances the labour and interest of acquiring them.

2nd. “To protect them in the undisturbed enjoyment of their proprietary rights to such lands as may be occupied by them in any especial manner.”

As it has hitherto appeared that the natives occupy no lands in the especial manner contemplated by this instruction, I found it of no avail to keep my attention to it. I, however, considered it my duty to suggest to the late Governor, the propriety of demanding a reservation of land, to be applied to the benefit of the aborigines, previous to the selection of any of the preliminary sections; and was directed to make official application to the Resident Commissioner for that purpose. I accordingly did so, by presenting him a letter at the Land Meeting at which the first selections were made, and was told that, as the Act of Parliament admitted of no reservation of the kind, my application was useless. The Resident Commissioner stated, however, that he would send me a written reply, which I never received.

3rd. “To encourage as much as possible the friendly dispositions towards the emigrants which at present exist.”

This instruction has been, to the utmost extent in my power, fulfilled, and I venture to assert that notwithstanding the late melancholy occurrences, which no one can lament more deeply than myself, the aborigines generally evince a friendly disposition towards the colonists. Much has been said on various occasions respecting the laudable forbearance of the white population, and I experience unfeigned pleasure in being able to subscribe to the general truth of such assertions, knowing well that the colonists, for the most part, have continually practised that forbearance which reason has taught them is at once so creditable and advantageous in every point of view. But we must not stop here. Full well am I convinced that many a right hearted colonist will join me in ascribing an equal forbearance to our sable brethren. When some of their numbers have been imprisoned by mistake—when others have been abused and ill-treated by vicious white men upon whom the light of reason and the blessings of civilization have been shed in vain—when they have seen their wives and relatives become the victims of the most loathsome diseases—then have they exhibited an extent of forbearance which is truly astonishing. And, in contradiction to the absurd statement that they have only been taught that

part of our law which refers to their own protection—they have learnt, by precept and example (many of them having been brought to justice and to punishment), that there is the same law for the colonists and the native. Frequently have I had to soothe their angry spirits when smarting under the insults they have received: often also has it been my duty to restrain their evil propensities.

4th and 5th. In my attempts “to induce them to labour either for themselves or the settlers, and to lead them by degrees to the advantages of civilization and religion,” I have done all which my means and the moral degradation of the poor aborigines have admitted. Two years is but a short period to work any considerable change in the natural habits of a race of beings pitifully low in the scale of humanity, and who have been long remarkable in an eminent degree for their indolence. Yet some scores of these remarkably indolent beings supply hundreds of the colonists with most of the wood and water they consume. Some of them have been induced to dig the ground, to saw, to write, &c.; many have proved trust-worthy messengers and guides; and there is no need for desponding that the slow and scanty beginnings may be crowned with ultimate success.

In departing from the letter of my instructions wherever I have found them impracticable for the reasons stated under the first instruction, I have substituted plans in strict accordance with their spirit. Thus, instead of uselessly rambling after handfuls of natives without the most distant hope of deriving or affording any benefit from such a course, I have familiarized them with our habits and customs by bringing them into friendly intercourse, and by encouraging their visits to the city. I have willingly sacrificed much domestic comfort and privacy by attracting them to my own house, to which they daily come, and frequently in very considerable numbers. They have learnt not only to call me their “Father,” but to know that I have their welfare at heart, and in the attachment which they feel towards me, and which, I am proud to say, my conduct has inspired, I possess a full compensation for the annoyances which have arisen out of the falsehoods and misrepresentations urged against me.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant

WM. WYATT,

*Ad interim* Protector of the Aborigines.

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*Protector of the Aborigines.*

“The official Gazette of Thursday last announces the appointment of a Protector of the aborigines. We rejoice at this event, because we have reason to believe that the duties of the office will now be efficiently performed, and that the great and just dissatisfaction which has existed, will cease.”

“Let it not be supposed that we are anxious to cast reflections on the late *ad interim* Protector. Towards that gentleman, individually, we have never entertained a harsh or unkind feeling. That the aborigines should for so long a period have possessed the name of a Protector without the reality, has been with us, as with the majority of our fellow-colonists, matter of deep regret; and our public duty forbade that we should be silent while an abuse which had existed nearly as long as the colony displayed no symptom of termination. That termination has, however, unexpectedly arrived — and to the past we will not again willingly refer.”



“ We rejoice that the new Protector will enter on his office at a period when our amicable position with regard to the natives, which a sort time since was greatly endangered, appears to be re-established. This fact induces us to hope that we are still in a condition to win their affections and influence their habits. Perhaps there is no race of savages known to Europeans, more susceptible of kindly influences, or less addicted to ferocious and repulsive vices, than the aborigines of this continent. Their minds are easily accessible by us, and although much labour will be required to remove the load of prejudices and errors which, during past ages of ignorance have overgrown and rooted in them—yet with the fulcrum secured, and the lever in our hands, it would be cowardly to despair or even to doubt of success. No reason possessing the smallest degree of cogency can be assigned why our sable neighbours should be more obdurate than Caffres, Negroes, South Sea Islanders, or North American Indians; while, on the contrary, there are many traits in their character, which induce us to believe that the conquest, when energetically attempted, will be found more easy in their case than it has been in the cases to which we have alluded. At present we know little, next to nothing, of their legends, laws, and customs—of their notions of morals, and their ideas, if they have any, of immaterial existence. It is said, that they are a reserved people; our experience leads us to an opposite conclusion. But if they are the reverse of communicative, the fact is probably owing to ignorance and suspicion of the motives which prompt our inquiries. Frequent intercourse with them, and discreet kindness, will obtain their confidence—the key to all we desire to know respecting them.”

“ Mr. Morehouse, we think, has undertaken an important and arduous, rather than a difficult task, if we except the difficulties which will necessarily attend its commencement. We trust he will have the aid, as he undoubtedly has the good wishes, of the colonists.—*Southern Australian, June 26, 1839.*”

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*Extract of a Letter from Burton Hack, 14th 7 mo. 1839.*

“ We have just got a permanent Protector of the Aborigines appointed from England; and I hope he will devote himself to the work, as our late Protector nearly rendered the office a sinecure, and it requires a man who is thoroughly devoted to the work, or he will altogether fail. I cannot conceive a more unpleasant office than that of the Protector, at least until he has made a considerable progress in the work of civilisation; for the state of disease and filth in which they exist is truly distressing; and from what I can see, with all the care that can be exercised, intemperance and vice will assuredly work their usual course with our natives as with others. The hope lies in the children: they may perhaps be rescued; but my hopes are very faint for the adults. Those who come into contact first with these poor creatures, are mostly men who are worse than savages in moral principle—our stock-keepers and bay-whalers, than whom generally speaking there cannot be worse cha-

racters, being very generally convicts of the lowest class. At the whaling station at Encounter Bay, we regularly employ some of the natives, and find some of them excellent in the boats."

*From Burton Hack, of Adelaide, to Dr. Hodgkin.*

"I have a cattle station about four miles from the town; and one afternoon about this time, a young man, who was herding the cattle on horseback, came in and said he had been attacked by the natives, and had fired at one of them who would not keep back: the natives, he said, attempted to surround him. I was very uneasy at this, as it might lead to serious consequences, if the man was injured who was fired at; and I went to the Governor, who advised the matter should be inquired into at once. I mounted the Assistant-Protector and two more of my men, and went myself with a neighbour with them. I felt satisfied that there had been some misconception on the part of the stock-keeper; and although the men took arms, I did not. We came on the party of natives about two miles out; and the men, as soon as they saw us coming, all ran together and began a violent noise. We rode towards them, when two men ran to us, crying, No! no! and seemed in great alarm: the whole party seemed in great terror; but were most profuse in expressions of good-will as they surrounded us. I think if they had intended any mischief to the man who fired, they would not at once come on towards the town. We went to gather the cattle together; and on our return found the natives all around a parcel of fires, and one or two of our townsmen, who are intimate with the natives, went to meet this wild tribe, not knowing of what had occurred if any man had shot a native; and if we had not gone out, I fear these young men would have fared badly. I mention this to show on how very slender a basis our good understanding with the natives rests; for any alarm on the part of a shepherd or stock-keeper may at any time cause the death of a native; and where will the mischief then stop: and these men are the first, in almost all instances, who come into contact with the blacks. At this time, the men who drove the teams into the country only a few miles, would not go without a fowling-piece with them."

"It has been, I think, a great advantage to the maintaining of our amicable relations with the blacks, that we have begun to colonise by first building a town. The force which our town of Adelaide must present to the natives who visit us, will tend to make them feel us to be so powerful that it will prevent any thought, on their parts, of violence. A native one day went into the yard of a house and asked for bread: he was rather roughly used by a man, and ordered out. It appears he threw a spear, which struck into the hedge near the man; a pursuit commenced, and the native was taken. Another, who was walking with a man in my employment, was much frightened at the tumult, and when he saw the people running towards him, he slipped his head out of his skin cloak and ran off. Three guns were fired at him one after another: the balls

struck the ground close to him, but fortunately did not strike him. He made for the river and plunged in, and was an hour or more in the water before he could be got out. Such was the excitement, that it was proposed by some to shoot him in the water, as none clearly understood how it was he came there. I saw him taken out, and he was more dead than alive with cold and fright."

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Art. VIII. EXTRACTS from J. BACKHOUSE'S JOURNAL,  
DESCRIBING A VISIT TO FLINDER'S ISLAND, ETC.

The following extracts, though not of recent date, will be read with interest, as containing an authentic account of the character of the Australian Aborigines, and demonstrating their capability and readiness to receive instruction. The more recent accounts of the fearful mortality which has prevailed amongst these poor people on Flinder's Island, to which they have been compelled to emigrate, cannot fail to excite regret that the really humane feelings which dictated the measure had not been more wisely directed. Something more than regret must be felt when it is known that the proposal to correct the error now discovered, has been opposed and set aside on the ground of expense;

"9th 10th mo., 1832. Though the wind continued to blow from the N.W., the captain determined, with the assistance of an old sealer as pilot, to beat towards Flinder's Island, having learned that the settlement there was short of provisions. We came safely to anchor under Green Island, the nearest safe place to the settlement for a vessel. When we landed, W. J. Darling welcomed us heartily to Flinder's Island, and to the accommodation of his hut, for which he apologized; but the cordiality with which we were received made up for all the defects of the place. A large group of the Aborigines were waiting on the beach, on the bank of which they were sitting; at first they appeared to take no notice of us, but on W. J. Darling's requesting them, they rose up, and on our being introduced to them, they shook hands with us very affably; their appearance was lively and kind, and they seemed in good health. They set up shouts of joy, when informed of the arrival of plenty of beef, pork, biscuit, flour, &c. The settlement consists of an oblong area, within which are a number of huts, about twelve feet square, for the officers, stores, &c. The hut occupied by the Commandant is twenty feet by ten feet, and has a window of four panes of glass on each side of the door: it is the only one on the premises with glass windows. There are at the other end of the area three large huts for the aborigines, and a rude erection of boughs, used in summer as a chapel. We visited the Aborigines in their dwellings, which are in the form of roofs placed upon the ground. Most of them were sitting on the ground round their fires, with their dogs, roasting mutton-birds and wallabies; the latter are animals of the kangaroo tribe. The people used many expressions of pleasure;

some in their own language, others in English, which a few of them can speak tolerably ; two or three of them can speak a little French, having been taken by a whaling vessel to the Isle of France. They keep their articles of tin very clean of their own accord : they have left off some of their native habits, and now wear clothing, except at their dances, when the men strip it all off ; the women, however, have been persuaded to keep theirs on when they join in these amusements, which they practice after sunset two or three times a week. The good temper with which the Aborigines conduct their diversions is very striking, as is also their agility. The women at the settlement on Flinder's Island now keep to the men who are acknowledged as their husbands ; formerly they were not particular in this respect : the men also who have wives, are faithful to them. The only recognition of marriage among them has been an understanding betwixt the parties, and the Commandant and surgeon. The women are generally kind and attentive to their children.

“ 10th. At breakfast several of the Aborigines came in, as they have done at other times : when any thing was offered they accepted it with pleasure ; they do not attempt to take any thing without leave. They walk into W. J. Darling's hut, and stand or sit down just at pleasure ; in all this they observe a remarkable degree of decorum. It is exceedingly gratifying to see them so comfortable, cheerful, and tractable. They have been led by degrees to take care of the things entrusted to them, and to be useful. They do not exhibit the degradation which has been attributed to them, either in physical or intellectual power. If they are going off the premises, they inform the Commandant ; this practice they have adopted of their own accord. The paternal kind of interest which W. J. Darling, though a very young man, takes in these people, is striking and highly gratifying.

“ 12th. Our friends, accompanied by the Commandant and several other persons, set out to visit the new settlement hitherto known by the name of Pea-Jacket Point, a distance of about fifteen miles from the Lagoons. “ As it regards the advancement of civilization among the native tribes, no doubt can exist,” J. B. says, “ of the superiority of this site over that at present occupied, except it be with regard to a supply of fresh water, and to anchorage near it, and both these difficulties appear capable of being surmounted. If civilization go forward among the black natives, they must be removed to a place where the separate families may have separate huts.”

“ 18th 1st mo. 1833. G. W. Walker accompanied his relation, G. Robson, to Emu Bay, and I went with J. Milligan on an exploring excursion. The man who was with us took us to the remains of a bark hut, where a person named M'Kay, who was injudiciously employed by the Aborigines Committee to capture the natives, came upon a party of them, and with cold-blooded cruelty, which characterizes cowardice and recklessness, fired upon them as they sat around their fire. One woman was killed, if not more, and the rest cap-



ured. The man who was employed in this service was a prisoner, not of respectable character: he has since been discharged from the service. There is reason to believe this act of cruel outrage led to increased animosity towards the white population, which resulted in loss of life on both sides. The Aborigines had robbed a hut on Three-Brook Plain, about two miles distant, a short time before.

“23rd 3rd mo. W. Bedford, the senior colonial chaplain, called to obtain tracts. We inquired of him if ever he knew a white man punished for ill treating one of the Aborigines of this land; he admitted that he did not. Considering the outrages upon them continually reported in time past, I cannot understand how this should have been the case, if the government were really sincere in the proclamation it issued, professing to protect them; particularly antecedent to the time when so many white people were killed by them, as to occasion the settlers to look upon them as common enemies. No investigation appears to have been instituted when a poor black was found shot, as to the circumstances under which it was done; but if a white man was shot, an investigation was made, and a verdict of wilful murder returned against the poor Aborigines, without much attention to the provocation given.”\*

“2nd 5th mo. Accompanied by F. Cotton, James Backhouse, and G. W. Walker, left Dr. Henderson’s and proceeded towards Launceston. At James Bateman’s at Buffalo plains, they were much pleased to meet A. Cottrell, who had come from Macquarie Harbour, with a party of eight Aborigines, on their way to Flinder’s Island. “J. Bateman,” continues the journal, “was formerly employed to take the Aborigines, by capture, if practicable, but by destruction where they could not be captured. This was at a time when the Aborigines destroyed many white people. Under these instructions, about thirty were destroyed and eleven captured: those captured became reconciled and highly useful in the peaceable arrangements so successfully made of latter time by G. A. Robinson and A. Cottrell. The last time A. C. passed the coast, he had a friendly interview with the tribe, near the Arthur River, that attempted the destruction of G. A. Robinson a few months since. Previously to this, two white men of his party were lost in crossing a river on a raft, before the tide was out. When some of the aboriginal women saw them in danger, they swam to the raft, and begged the men to get upon their backs, and they would convey them to the shore; but the poor men, overcome by fear, refused. These kind-hearted women were greatly affected by this accident.

“9th. Walking with J. Bateman this morning in his garden, he pointed out the grave of an aboriginal child, who died at his house. When it expired, the mother and other native women made great lamentation; and the morning after it was buried, happening to

\* In one of the last cases that occurred in the colony, in which a verdict of wilful murder was returned against the Aborigines, it appears, from subsequent information, that the provocation given was such as would have been thought sufficient to justify homicide in civilized society.

walk round his garden before sun-rise, he found its mother weeping over its grave: yet it is asserted by some, that these people are without natural affection.

“13th. At the post-office, Launceston, we found a letter from W. J. Darling, from Flinder’s Island, conveying a very interesting account of the progress of the Aboriginal Establishment. The following are extracts from it, dated Aboriginal Establishment, formerly Pea-Jacket, now Wybalenna, 6th April 1833. ‘We have been removed since the 1st February down to this place, which is a paradise compared with the other, and which I have named Wybalenna, or Black Man’s Houses, in honest English. We have abundance of water, an excellent garden, and every comfort a rational man can want. If you were gratified with the establishment before, you would be doubly so now, and would find a vast improvement among the people since your last visit: their habitations are in progress, four of them being nearly completed. I think you would approve of them. They consist of low cottages, twenty-eight feet by fourteen feet, with a double fire-place in the centre, and a partition; each apartment calculated to contain six persons. They are built of wattles, plastered and whitewashed; the wattles and grass for thatching, of which a great quantity is required for each building, have been brought in entirely by the natives; and the delight they show in the anticipation of their new houses is highly gratifying. They are of course to be furnished with bed-places, tables, stools, &c.; and each house will have a good-sized garden in the front of it. By next spring there will not be a prettier or more interesting place in the colony of Van Diemen’s Land. The women now wash their clothes, and those of their husbands, as well as white women. We are not now half so naked as when you were last here, but have neat and substantial clothing.’ In a subsequent extract of later date, after the Aborigines had got into their houses, W. J. Darling says, ‘their houses are swept out every morning, their things all hung up and in order, and this is without a word being spoken to them. They all know, and make a distinction on the Sunday; this too springs entirely from themselves; the women having washed their clothes on the Saturday. The men dress every Sunday morning in clean dark frocks and trowsers, and every one of them washes himself.’

“27th 5th mo. In the afternoon we accompanied George Everitt, the secretary of the Orphan-school, in a visit to that useful establishment. Among the pupils are five aboriginal boys, who are making as good progress in their learning as the white boys. It is a large establishment.

“21st 7th mo. H. Germain says, he rarely carried a gun, though he often fell in with parties of Aborigines, “in whom there was then no harm.” He thinks they hurt nobody, till two white men, charged with murder, escaped from Port Dalrymple and got among them.

“13th 10th mo. G. W. Walker called with me upon the Lieutenant-governor, who is deeply interested about the Aborigines of

New Holland, among whom a few British subjects are settling, having in a few places purchased territory of them. He wishes measures to be taken to protect their rights, until some permanent arrangements may be made, in which the rights of the Aborigines may be fully considered and regarded.

“23rd 12th mo. On our return we passed a family of Aborigines, sitting around a small fire. Two women had blankets thrown around them, and one of them had a dirty piece of flannel around her neck; she said she had been very ill. They had three children, that seemed from five to eight years old; one of which at least was a half-caste. They had also several dogs and some cats. Some men belonging to them were fishing; three fish were lying near their fire. They said one of the men was gone to the town to buy some bread; but they were afraid he would spend the money in drink. In features the old woman reminded us of some of the least personable of our acquaintance among the Tasmanian Aborigines; the younger woman was of less forbidding aspect; and the children were of fine lively countenances, and by no means of unpleasant features. They gladly accepted a few pence to buy bread. They spoke English tolerably. Their whole appearance was degraded and very forlorn.

“4th 2nd mo. 1835. I had some conversation with Samuel Marsden, who dined with us, and with the colonial secretary, on the case of the New Zealander, who was on board the *Henry Freeling* a few days ago; who was, I learn, brought away with his wife and child as hostages, by a house in Sydney that has a whaling establishment on that part of the coast of New Zealand to which these people belong, and of which this man is said to be a chief. The lives of the persons employed by this house were thought to be in danger, and this expedient was resorted to for their protection. There is reason to believe it was with the consent of this man and his countrymen, that he and his wife became hostages; but they seem to have had no idea of being so long detained. The chief complains of the detention, and says that if an Englishman had been detained in like manner in his country, a man-of-war would have been sent to demand him. It is an important question how far it is proper to allow of acts of this character, and one which demands the consideration of the British Legislature.

“10th 7th mo. We saw the Supplement to the Sydney Herald of the 6th inst., containing an article copied from the Cornwall Chronicle, Van Diemen's Land, headed the “Tasmanian Penn,” announcing the return of John Batman from the vicinity of Port Philip, after having, on behalf of the Van Diemen's Land government, effected the purchase of 500,000 acres of land from the native blacks on that part of the coast of New Holland. The account states, that almost immediately after landing, J. B. fell in with a tribe of forty, who at first evinced a disposition to oppose him; but after a short parley, the natives (of New South Wales) whom he had with him effected an understanding, and he was received by them with open arms and every manifestation of good

feeling. The peaceable disposition shown on the part of the holders of the new country, enabled him to execute the object of his visit effectually and speedily. A fine athletic fellow, the chief of the tribe, after being made acquainted with his wish to purchase land, and his means to pay for it, proceeded with him and his party, accompanied with his tribe, to measure it off. At each corner boundary the chief marked a tree and tattooed it, and at the same time explained to his tribe the nature of his treaty and the positive necessity, on their part, to observe it inviolable. He was provided with deeds in triplicate, the nature of which he explained to the chief, as the fashion upon such occasions in white man's country, who readily signed them, and received one to preserve. The payment for the land, in part, consisted of one hundred blankets, tomahawks, knives, flour, &c.; and it was mutually agreed, that a certain quantity of food, clothing, and arms [query tomahawks and fowling-pieces] were to be paid each year. The amount of them about £200 sterling."

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Art. IX. The cordial thanks of the friends of humanity are due to the editors of several periodicals, who have recently espoused the cause of the oppressed Aborigines, and thus advanced the grand object of this Society, whether it has been expressly mentioned or not. It is greatly to be desired that this praiseworthy example may be followed by some journalists who have hitherto allowed their columns, we would trust through inadvertence or misinformation, to be engaged on the side of the aggressors. We would particularly recommend to the attention of the reader the following papers in the Monthly Chronicle—1. "On the Colonization of New Zealand," in the No. for August—2. One by Dr. Pritchard, on "the Extinction of the Human Races," in that for December—and on "the Practicability of civilizing Aboriginal Population," in that for October, 1839.

Several booksellers and publishers, whose names are given in the title page of this number, have kindly undertaken to promote the diffusion of the Society's publications, and have added the further favour of consenting to receive subscriptions. Subscriptions are also received by the Treasurer; by Capt. Washington, 21 Regent St.; London and Westminster Bank; Messrs, Herries, Farquhar, and Co., St. James's Street; Overend, Gurney, and Co., Lombard Street; and W. A. Hankey and Co., Fenchurch Street.



EXTRACTS



FROM THE

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ABORIGINES' PROTECTION SOCIETY.

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VOL. II—No. III.

APRIL, 1841.

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1841.

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## ANALOGOUS CUSTOMS OF THE AUSTRALIANS.

The subjoined passages relative to customs found among the Australian aborigines correspondent to those of Eastern and other nations, and contributing as an important moral evidence to establish the one origin of the human family, are taken from Major Mitchell's Travels :

“ While I stood near this spot attending the arrival of the party which was still at some distance, I overheard a female voice singing. The notes were pleasing, and very different from the monotonous strains of the natives in general. But this was not the song of ‘hope,’ but of despair ; at least so it sounded to me under the circumstances, and so it really proved to be as I afterwards ascertained. Men’s voices were also heard as we proceeded quietly to our own ground, and I could not help regretting, that after having given those natives on the Gwydir the slip, and seen no other the whole day, we should again find the identical spot where we were to pass the night preoccupied by natives. The parties set up their tents and the song ceased ; but I proceeded towards the place where the sounds came, and from which smoke arose. We there saw several persons amid smoke, and apparently regardless of our presence ; indeed their apathy, as compared with the natives in general, was surprising. A young man continued to beat out a skin against a tree without caring to look at us ; and as they made no advance to us, we did not go up to them. Mr. White, on visiting their fires, however, at 10 P.M., found that they had decamped. All this seemed rather mysterious until the nature of the song I had heard was explained to me afterwards at Sydney by a bushranger, whom I visited in the Hulk on my return. He then imitated the notes, and informed me that they were sung by females when mourning for the dead ; adding, that on such occasions it was usual for the relatives of the deceased to seem inattentive or insensible to whatever people might be doing around them.

“ This custom is not peculiar to Australia ; it prevailed also in the east :

“ A melancholy choir attend around  
With plaintive sighs, and music’s solemn sound  
Alternately they sing, alternate flow :  
Th’ obedient tears melodious in their woe.”

Pope’s *Iliad*, book xxiv. v. 900.

“ This was a custom generally received, and which passed from the Hebrews to the Greeks, Romans, and Asiatics. There were weepers by profession of both sexes who sung doleful tunes round the dead.

Harmer, vol. iii. p. 31.

“ It is admitted by all, that this last practice obtained, and the following passages are proofs of it : Jer. ix. 17, 18—“ *Call for the mourning women that they may come, and let them make haste and take up a wailing for us, that our eyes may run down with tears and our eyelids gush out with waters.*”

*Idem*, pp. 33 and 36.

“ When we reached the head of the highest slope whence I first saw these ponds, a dense column of smoke ascended from Mount Frazer, and

subsequently other smokes arose, extending in telegraphic line far to the south along the base of the mountains, and thus communicating to the natives who might be upon our route homewards the tidings of our return. These signals were distinctly seen by Mr. White at the camp as well as by us.

"This mode of communicating intelligence of sudden danger, so invariably practised by the natives of Australia, seems quite in conformity with the customs of early ages as mentioned in Scripture: "*O ye children of Benjamin, gather yourselves to flee out of the midst of Jerusalem, and set up a sign of fire in Beth-haccerem, for evil appeareth out of the north and great destruction.*" Jer. vi. 1.

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"About 9 o'clock Joseph Jones came in reporting that a native had pointed a spear at him when he was on the river bank with the sheep, and that this native accompanied by a boy kept his ground in a position which placed the sheep entirely in his power, and prevented Jones from driving them back. He added, that on his holding out a green bough to them they had also taken a bough, spit upon it, and then thrust it into the fire. On hastening to the spot with three men, I found the natives still there, no way daunted, and on my advancing towards him with a green twig he shook another twig at me quite in a new style, waving it over his head, and at the same time beckoning with it that we should go back. He and the boy then threw up dust at us in a clever way with their toes.

"Strange as this custom appears to us, it is quite consistent with the early history of mankind. King David and his host met with a similar reception at Bahurim—" *And as David and his men went by the way, Shimei went along on the hill-side over against him, and cursed as he went, and threw stones at him, and cast dust.*" 2 Sam. xvi. 13. So also we read in Acts xxii. 23—" *They cried out and cast off their clothes, and threw dust into the air.*" Frequent mention is made of this as the practice of the Arabians in Oekley's History of the Saracens, when they would express their contempt of a person speaking, and their abhorrence of what he publicly pronounces. We find also this directly stated in Light's Travels in Egypt, p. 64: "One more violent than the rest threw dust into the air, the signal both of rage and defiance, ran for his shield, and came towards me dancing, howling, and striking the shield with the head of the javelin to intimidate me."

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"The best of this part of the scene was that they did not so much mind being unobserved by any one except the blacksmith, supposing they were robbing him only. He was at last tempted to give one of them a push from him, when a scene of chaunting, *spitting*, and throwing dust commenced on the part of the thief, a stout fellow who carried a spear, and which he made something like a motion to use.

"The malediction of the Turks is frequently expressed in no other way than by *spitting* on the ground.—Clark's *Travels*, vol. iii. p. 295. Monsieur Arvieux tells us, the Arabs are sometimes disposed to think that when a person spits it is done out of contempt, and that they never do it before their superiors. But Sir J. Chardin's MS. goes much further. He tells us in a note on Numbers xii. 14, that spitting before any one, or spitting on the ground in speaking of any one's actions is throughout the East an expression of extreme detestation."—Harmer, vol. iv. p. 429.

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"On the tops of some of these small hills I observed what appeared to be tombs of the natives. They consisted of a circular trench of about



fifty feet in diameter, the grave being covered by a low mound in the centre: They were also dug in the summits or highest parts of hills. On observing this preference of the highest as burying places, I remembered that it was on the highest part of the hill, where I fixed our depôt on the Darling, that we had seen the numerous white balls and so many graves.

“M. De la Roque says of the Bedouin Arabs of Mount Carmel, that the frequent change of the place of their encampment not admitting their having places set apart for burial, they also chose a place somewhat elevated for that purpose, and at some distance from the camp. They make a grave there, into which they put the corpse, and cover it with earth and a number of great stones, lest the wild beasts should get to the body.”—*Voy. dans la Palestine*, ch. 23. See also 2 Kings xxiii. 16. 1 Kings xiii. 2. Isa. xxii. 15—17.

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“Beside the graves were in some cases casts also in lime or gypsum of the upper part of the head, which had evidently been worn on a head where the hair had been confined, with a part of which the impression and some hairs remained inside. One of the natives explained in a very simple manner the meaning of the white balls, by taking a small piece of wood and laying it in the ground and covering it with earth, then laying his head on one side, and closing his eyes, he showed that a dead body was so laid in the earth where these balls were placed above.

“A singular coincidence with the ancient customs of Israel. The Jews used to mark their graves with white lime that they might be known, that so priests, Nazarites, and travellers might avoid them, and not be polluted. They also marked their graves with white lime, and so also in their intermediate feast days. They made use of chalk, because it looked white like bones.—*Burder's Oriental Customs*, vol. ii. p. 232.

“It may be also remarked, that a superstitious custom prevailed among the Gentiles in mourning for the dead. They cut off their hair, and that round about, and threw it into the sepulchre with the bodies of their relatives and friends, and sometimes laid it upon the face or the breast of the dead as an offering to the infernal gods, whereby they thought to appease them, and make them kind to the deceased.” See *Maimonides de Idol*, cxii. 1, 2, 5.

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“This chief appeared to have great authority although not old. He wore tightly round his left arm between the shoulder and elbow, a bracelet of hair corded. This distinction, if such it was, I also noticed in one of the old men.

“Of the bracelet as worn among the Orientals, Harmer says, This I take to have been an ensign of royalty, and in that view I suppose we are to understand the account that is given us of the Amalekites bringing the bracelet that he found on Saul's arm along with his crown to David. 2 Sam. i. 10.” Vol. ii: p. 438.

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“As soon as they came within a short distance from the tents, they struck their spears in the ground and seemed to beckon me to approach them; and as I was advancing towards them, they violently shook their boughs at me and dashed them to the ground, having first set them on fire, calling out, ‘Nangry’ (sit down), which mandate I accordingly obeyed; but seeing that they stood and continued their unfriendly gestures, I again stood up and called to the party, on seeing which they immediately turned and ran away.

“Harmer says, It was usual with the Greeks, when armies were about to engage, that before the first ensigns stood a prophet or priest bearing branches of laurels and garlands, who was called Pyrophorus, or the torch-bearer, because he held a lamp or torch; and it was accounted a most criminal thing to do him any hurt, because he performed the office of an ambassador. This sort of men were priests of Mars, and sacred to him, so that those who were conquerors always spared them. Hence when a total destruction of an army, place, or people, was hyperbolically expressed, it used to be said, ‘Not so much as a torch-bearer or fire-carrier escaped.’”—*Herod. Urania*, sive l. viii. c. 6.

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“One artificial feature distinguishes the principal stations of the native tribes, which may soon be recognized by lofty mounds of ashes used by them in cooking. The common process of natives in dressing their provisions, is to lay the food between layers of heated stones; but here, where there are no stones, the calcined clay seems to answer the same purpose, and becomes the better or harder the more it is used. Hence the accumulation of heaps resembling small hills.

“‘And Jacob said unto his brethren, Gather stones; and they took stones, and made a heap, and they did eat there upon the heap.’ Gen. xxxi. 46.

“Thevenot describes the way of roasting a sheep, practised by the Armenians, by which also the use of smoky wood is avoided; for having flayed it, they cover it again with the skin, and put it into an oven upon the quick coals, covering it also with a good many of the same coals, that it may have fire under and over to roast it well on all sides, and the skin keeps it from being burnt.—*Harmer*. Whoever has seen the Australian natives cook a kangaroo must recognize in this description the very same process.”

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“The men wear girdles, usually made of the wool of the opossum, and a sort of tail of the same material is appended to this girdle both before and behind, and seems to be the only part of their costume suggested by any ideas of decency. The girdle answers besides the important purpose of supporting the lower viscera, and seems to have been found necessary for the human frame by almost all savages. In these girdles the men, and especially their *Corudjes*, or priests, frequently carry crystals of quartz or other shining stones, which they hold in high estimation, and very unwillingly show to any one, invariably taking care when they do unfold them that no woman shall see them.

“Genesis xxviii. 18. From this conduct of Jacob and this Hebrew appellative, the learned *Bochart* with great ingenuity and reason insists that the name and veneration of the sacred stones called *Bactyli*, so celebrated in all Pagan antiquity were derived. These *bactyli* were stones of a round form; they were supposed to be animated, by means of magical incantations, with a portion of the deity; they were consulted on occasions of great and pressing emergency as a kind of divine oracles, and were suspended either round the neck or some other part of the body.”—*Burder's Oriental Customs*, vol. i. p. 40.

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“It is also customary for both men and women to cut themselves in mourning for relations. I have seen old women in particular bleeding about the temples from such self-inflicted wounds.

“We often read of people cutting themselves, in Holy Writ, when in great anguish; but we are not commonly told what part they wounded. The modern Arabs, it seems, gash their arms, which with them are often

bare. It appears from a passage of Jeremiah, that the ancients wounded themselves in the same part : *'Every head shall be bald, and every beard cleft : upon all hands shall be cuttings, and upon the loins sackcloth.'* ch. xlvi. 37.—*Harmer*, vol. iv. p. 436.

We are indebted to the Travels of Major Mitchell, Surveyor General of New South Wales, for the following encouraging testimonies respecting the aborigines of Eastern Australia :—

“My experience enables me to speak in the most favourable terms of the aborigines, whose degraded position in the midst of the white population affords no just criterion of their merits. The quickness of apprehension of those in the interior was very extraordinary, for nothing in all the complicated adaptations (for surveys) we carried with us either surprised or puzzled them. They are never awkward ; on the contrary, in manners and general intelligence, they appear superior to any class of white rustics that I have seen. Their powers of mimicry seem extraordinary, and their shrewdness shines even through the medium of imperfect language, and renders them in general very agreeable companions.

“The kangaroo disappears from cattle runs, and is also killed by stockmen merely for the sake of the skin ; but no mercy is shown to the natives who may help themselves to a bullock or a sheep. Such a state of things must infallibly lead to the extirpation of the aboriginal native, as in Van Dieman's Land, unless timely measures are taken for their civilization and protection. I have heard some affecting allusions made by natives to the white men's killing the kangaroo. At present almost every stockman has several strong kangaroo dogs, and it would be only an act of justice towards the aborigines to prohibit white men by law from killing these creatures which are as essential to the natives as cattle to the Europeans. The prohibition would be at least a proof of the disposition of the strangers to act as humanely towards the natives as they possibly could.

“Some adequate provision for their civilization and maintenance is due on our part to this race of men were it only for the means of existence of which we are depriving them. The bad example of the class of persons sent to Australia should be counteracted by some serious efforts to civilize and instruct these aboriginal inhabitants. That they are capable of civilization and instruction has been proved recently in the case of a number who were sentenced for some offence to be confined with the chain gang on Goat Island, in Sydney harbour. By the exertions of Mr. Ferguson, who was, I believe, a missionary gentleman, these men were taught in five months to read tolerably well ; and also to explain in English the meaning of the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments. During that time they had been initiated in the craft of stone cutting and building, so as to completely erect a small house. They grew fat and muscular, and appeared really stronger men, when well fed, than the white convicts.

“The natives can also be very good shepherds when any of them are induced, by proper encouragement and protection, to take charge of a flock. One of the lads who travelled with me, had previously tended sheep for a year, and had given great satisfaction.

“My experiment with the little native, Ballandella, will be useful, I trust, in developing hereafter the mental energies of the Australian aborigines ; for by the last accounts from Sydney, I am informed that she reads as well as any white child of the same age.”

TO THE FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE  
SEVERAL MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

WHICH HAVE FOR THEIR OBJECT THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRIS-  
TIANITY AMONG THE HEATHEN.

As members of the Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society, we are induced to solicit your attention to the existence and claims of a Society which labours in the same field with yourselves, and which is designed to aid and second, and give permanency to the sacred work which is more peculiarly yours. We wish to appear beside you as yoke-fellows, and not as rivals. In fact, the Aborigines' Protection Society numbers amongst its founders some of the most devoted and honourable of your own members. Nevertheless, we believe that the supporters of your different bodies generally, are either uninformed of the existence of this Society, or not aware of the vast amount of suffering and wrong to which the objects of their own care are exposed, and which render the efforts of this Society the indispensable complement and counterpart to that in which they are themselves engaged. The history of missions, not excepting even the most successful and encouraging, exhibits the members of the infant churches which they have founded as suffering from the baneful influence of professing Christians. It exhibits the converts to our faith as being everywhere exposed to contamination and oppression. In many instances, the most promising companies of these Christians have been broken up, possibly leaving no trace of their existence but the recollection of their overthrow. Wherever your labours have been rewarded with success, the benign influences of Christianity have suspended the operation of some of the most revolting of the exterminating causes, and furnished convincing evidence that they hold out promises "of the life which now is as well as of that which is to come." Still, while your labour is only yet begun, the interesting nations and tribes and families, for whom your sympathies have been excited, are fast disappearing from a large portion of the globe, in which, as yet, your influence remains unfelt. They melt away with appalling rapidity, and your thriving establishments are swept off or injured in the common ruin. Such has been the fate of settlements of Christian Indians in America, where the same process is still going forward. How many missions amongst Hottentots, Caffres, and Zoolahs, have been broken up amidst the pillage and murder of those interesting people. In New Holland, New Zealand, and the numerous islands of the Pacific, where some of your devoted missionaries are sacrificing their earthly comforts, and even their lives, the most vigorous efforts cannot overtake, much less arrest the wide-wasting influences which, under the guise of Christianity and civilization, have been the scourge of these regions. We entreat you to reflect on the universal process of extermination, which the evidence of your mission-



aries and members has exhibited to a Committee of the House of Commons, and which, though admitted, has led to no efforts on the part of the Legislature. But it called the Aborigines' Protection Society into existence, and that Society seeks, by persuasion, by the exhibition of the evil, and by careful search after measures of a practical character, to obtain the application of the remedy. Its numbers are few, its influence small, and its hands weak. It looks to the humanity of the British public for support, but it especially appeals to you for that assistance which it is in your power to give, not only without prejudice to your own immediate work, but with manifest advantage to it. You have it in your power to supply us with recent and authentic details from those remote parts of the globe in which the greatest evils are in most active operation. You may make us acquainted with facts, which, though not absolutely within your own province, may indirectly interfere with your labours—facts, which it is the object of the Aborigines' Protection Society to investigate, and, if necessary, to bring before the country and the Government. We wish to impress you with the importance of this information to our cause, and with the difficulty which we experience in obtaining it. Every strong appeal which we may thus be enabled to make, will exhibit the necessity of sustaining your labours, as well as that of removing the obstacles which oppose you, and of affording protection to those whose rapid extinction, if unchecked, must bring your missions to a close for want of objects. We trust that you will recognize us as brothers and associates, and bear in mind that we only need to acquire strength ourselves, in order to render you effectual help in your labours.

The Aborigines' Protection Society appeals, in the first instance, to Christianity, justice, and benevolence; and it also appeals to science for the investigation and preservation of much that is interesting and important in the knowledge of the feeble and scattered families of the human race, all record of which must irrecoverably be lost, should they become extinct before this object be effected. And we would remind you how essentially this very knowledge is connected with the cause of religion, by exhibiting to the sceptic the proofs that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth." The existence of these cannot be deduced from speculation; they can only be wrought out by the most careful and patient collection of facts, of which the apparently trivial may become important as connecting links in the broken chain. In this work, your missionaries have done much, but much more remains to be done. Even the physical characters of many of the families of mankind are very imperfectly known. On this account, as well as for other reasons more intimately connected with the improvement and elevation of these races, it has long been an object with some of the members of the Aborigines' Protection Society to see a systematic attempt made to have well-selected individuals from as many as possible of them brought to this country, and that the physical and intellectual qualities of the

people may not merely be judged of by report, but made the subject of actual observation by those who are most interested in the study of man. If such natives were properly selected, and their education specially directed to fit them for the work in which they should be engaged on their return, it cannot be doubted that they would render the most powerful assistance to missionary enterprise, and tend to give strength and capacity for independent existence to the Christian communities of larger or smaller size which the exertions of missionaries may establish. Very much might be said in support of this view, and proofs might be drawn from past experience to show how important a part in the promotion of civilization and national prosperity has been performed by the natives of a country in arrear in respect of knowledge, when educated and trained in one that is further advanced. Much, too, might be said to remove the objections which may possibly be drawn from instances of an opposite character, in which natives in the situation referred to have been brought into civilized society, and again returned to their country, without benefit to themselves or others. In our view, the probability of advantage greatly outweighs the danger of failure. But there is another object embraced by this plan, which seems more particularly to recommend it to your attention. It would, in some sort, be a universal and constantly applied test of the success and efficiency of the labours of your missionaries. It is not to insinuate anything to the disparagement of those Christians that this hint is thrown out. It is not injurious to the best of men to feel that their operations are observed, and vigilant inspection is as much the encourager and rewarder of the best efforts, as it is a check to declining zeal, and consequently neglected or ill-performed duty. It finds out the weak, disheartened by a task beyond their capability, and sends succour which may give animation and success to renewed efforts. The general visitation performed at vast expense by one of your Societies, both proves that the force of these considerations has been felt, and has in itself produced a most valuable return for the expense which it incurred. The plan of bringing home periodically to this country the best and most advanced native pupils of your missionary schools, in which they should be selected by competition, would be one means of applying a check of the kind here alluded to. Their progress in religious knowledge and intellectual cultivation would exhibit the degree of success which has attended the effort to impart instruction, and without encouraging such youths to become the tale-bearers and detractors of their teachers, it is manifest that they would be found to impart information with regard to the operations of the mission, which no transient visitation could collect. In the missionary settlements, the prospect that the most successful native pupils would come to this country with a sort of travelling fellowship, would be an incessant stimulus to pupils and teachers, and the movement of circulation which it would establish, would maintain life and health in your distant extremities, in which the whole body must participate.

We will not trespass on your time by an exposition of the arguments and facts by which the advantages of such a method might be supported. Though it admits of being carried out on a large and expensive scale, the trial might be made with a very few individuals, the expense of whose voyage to this country and education in it need not exceed a comparatively trivial amount. In the execution, you would have no difficulty in meeting with assistance. The Aborigines' Society has been so impressed with the desirableness of this plan, that it is pledged to exert itself for its accomplishment; and there is reason to believe, that some of the most important institutions for the promotion of instruction would lend their aid to the work in a manner which might be perfectly satisfactory to your own bodies.

In conclusion, we desire that you will receive our address and the suggestions which it contains as a proof of our cordial and respectful regard. Whilst we are animated by the same motives which have created and sustained your exertions, we ask your assistance as brothers, but do not seek to interfere with your labours. Should it be consistent with your operations to communicate with our body on any of the points which have been alluded to, we shall be gratified by the opportunity of conferring with you respecting them.

For the Committee,

Your obedient humble Servant,

FREDERICK MAITLAND INNES, *Sec.*

*Office, 17, Beaufort Buildings, Strand.*

*Nov. 1840.*

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### “ SUMMARY JUSTICE.”

*Exercise of authority on the part of the Governor of South Australia, most important to mariners, and the friends of mariners, colonists, and emigrants, and of painful interest to the protectors and friends of the native inhabitants.*

#### SHIPWRECK AND MURDERS AT ENCOUNTER BAY.

*(From the Sydney Gazette of Oct. 10th.)*

INSTRUCTIONS TO MAJOR O'HALLORAN, THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE.

*Adelaide, 14th Aug. 1840.*

You will proceed with the party described in the margin to the elbow of the Goolwa by such routes as you shall deem expedient. You will make arrangements that two boats shall be placed on the river, with provisions and necessaries on board for your whole party for fourteen days. You will have at least seven days' provisions in addition, in charge of a foot-police party at the elbow. The object of your expedition is to apprehend and bring to summary justice the ring-leaders in the murder, or any of the murderers (in all not

to exceed three), of eight or more white persons ; some of whose bodies were found some few days since, about nineteen miles to the south-eastward of the seamouth of the Goolwa or Murray. To this end your first object should be, if possible, to make prisoners the whole number congregated with the murderers. It is of very great importance that, if possible, in effecting this portion of the duty, no blood should be shed, or violence shown or encountered. The future effect of the expedition on the minds and conduct of the natives will certainly be much more beneficial if the murderers can be captured without bloodshed. This, however, will probably be the most difficult part of your duty ; and if, in the execution of it, you are really compelled to abandon temperate measures and to resort to those of extreme force against the whole tribe, you will not be held blameable. Your duty is to capture the murderers ; and this object must be effected if they fall within your reach. You will most carefully and distinctly explain to all friendly natives, that your warfare is not with any but the tribe by which the murder was committed ; and even to this tribe you will, if opportunity permits, explain as distinctly (which from the distance at which their weapons take effect, you will probably be able to do, even should they be in hostility with you) that if they will deliver up the murderers your aggression against all others shall cease. The horses should, with the greatest care, be kept out of sight until the last moment. This may be effected by sending them along the sea-beach, not allowing any to rise the sand hills. When the prisoners are taken, you will proceed deliberately and with all suitable form to discover, through the medium of the Encounter Bay blacks, who were the persons actually concerned in the murder. You will take every reasonable method of exhibiting to your own party, and to all the blacks present, that your inquiry is deliberate, and conducted on principles of the strictest justice. When, to your own thorough conviction, you shall have identified any number not exceeding three of the actual murderers, you will distinctly point out such men, and require the deliberate opinions of Mr. Pullen, Capt. Nixon, and the Encounter Bay blacks concerning their guilt, and you will make a note by names of those opinions as to guilty or not guilty, for the information of the governor. You will, however, act upon your own single deliberate judgment. Should your mind become satisfied of the guilt as to actual participation in the murder of any number not exceeding three, you will, if possible, move the whole tribe in your power to the spot at which the murder was committed. You will there explain to the blacks the nature of your conduct, and the orders you have received from the governor, and you will deliberately and formally cause sentence of death to be executed, by shooting or hanging, upon the convicted murderers, not exceeding three, as above described. You will then cause your party to return to its different stations. Should you not be able to succeed in capturing any blacks against whom you can obtain evidence satisfactory to yourself, you will arrange your movements so as to return by the



time the provisions are exhausted. The whole party engaged in the expedition is placed under your absolute command. You will be careful to maintain strict discipline in it, especially as regards the natives and their women. For so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant.

GEORGE GAWLER, Governor, South Australia.

By his Excellency's command, GEORGE HALL,  
Acting Colonial Secretary.

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FIRST REPORT OF MAJOR O'HALLORAN, COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,  
TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.

Camp Tentie, opposite the first island of the South Eastern part of Lake Alexandrina, and about five miles to the W.N.W. of the Narrow, August 26, 1840.

SIR,—By "Encounter Bay Peter," I have the honour to report the progress of the expedition under my command.

Mr. Pullen returned from Rairwee (the elbow of the Goolwa) by the evening of Friday, the 21st inst., to our first camp, near the mouth of the Murray, with a fortnight's supply of provisions. On Saturday morning, the 22nd, we started at an early hour, the mounted party keeping along the sea coast the entire day; but we could not discover any relics of our countrymen—three of whom were said to have been killed within a few miles of the sea mouth of the Murray; which, however, the Encounter Bay blacks declared to be false. During this day (Saturday), owing to the wind being foul, the boats got on badly, and we halted for the night, about twelve miles from where we started in the morning, and not more than fourteen miles from the sea mouth of the Murray.

On Sunday morning, the 23rd inst., we again moved off at an early hour, the wind being fresh and fair for the boats. I proceeded, as the day before, with the mounted party along the sea coast, and detached Captain Nixon, Mr. Bonney, and an orderly, to keep up the line of communication with Mr. Pullen, who was to notify by certain signals whenever he saw any natives from the boats, for we had now got into the country of the hostile "Big Murra tribe." About twelve o'clock we discovered a number of natives along the coast, at a great distance ahead, running from us. We instantly followed in pursuit, and at as rapid a rate as the heavy nature of the sand would admit of, but we rode hard upwards of two miles before we neared them, when they took to the high and heavy sand hills, that are in very many places covered with thick scrub. I, however, threw skirmishers out from the coast to the lake, and we thus kept those steadily in sight whom we first saw, and the result was, that by evening, and after very great fatigue and exertion, from the hilly, scrubby, and sandy nature of the country, we contrived, without injury to any, to capture thirteen men, two lads, and about fifty women and children. Some of the natives took to the lake when closely followed, whom we rode in.

after and captured; and some of them were intercepted by Mr. Pullen's party. Upon the persons of almost every man and woman, and in almost every "whirley" we examined—and they were numerous—we found various articles of European clothing, belonging to males and females, as well as children, and many of them stained with blood; an excellent silver watch also, and four teaspoons and one silver saltspoon, with the initials "I. E. Y." on the five latter, were taken; all of which fully proved that those in custody were participators in, if not the actual perpetrators of, the late horrible murders.

The prisoners were carefully secured and guarded during the night, but the women and children I liberated; the latter, however, remained near the men till the evening of the next day. From our last encampment we must have travelled at least twenty-five miles, independent of the great distance caused by the long continued pursuit in so unfavorable a country; so that when we rested for the night most of our horses were quite knocked up.

On Monday morning, the 24th instant, the mounted party were on horseback an hour before day-break, for the purpose of scouring the country ahead of us along the narrows, and where Mr. Pullen in his former trip of inquiry, and who now accompanied me on horseback, saw a number of ferocious characters with European clothing on, and who were chiefly the murderers, according to the statement of the captured natives. These men I was therefore fully resolved on securing if we fell in with them; and, to allow none a chance of escaping, we beat the country for a long way from the lake side to the sea shore, captured some women, and found a quantity of European clothing (male and female) in the whirleys and huts on the lake side, several articles of which, especially a woman's shift, were covered with blood. Close to these whirleys we saw two natives swimming across the lake. We instantly rode down, and at the water's edge Mr. Pullen picked up a sailor's cap, which he at once recognized as that worn by one of the worst looking men he had seen in his former trip, and who was then with a party of natives pointed out by the friendly blacks that were with him as the actual murderers. Finding these fellows could not be followed, and had every chance of escaping if prompt measures were not resorted to, I now, for the first and only time, ordered those around me to fire, and, though the distance was great, both the natives were wounded, and one severely, though they swam to an island immediately opposite to us. Inspector Tolmer swam over after them, and found the two blacks wounded, as I have described; but before a boat, which was sent out on our return to camp, could reach the island to bring them off, they had both gone over to the north-eastern shore of the Coorong. There can scarcely be a question but that these men formed part of the actual gang of murderers, for in their whirleys, or rather huts, close by, we found articles of clothing covered with blood; and at this locality the captured natives all declared that the principal murderers were to be found. At another spot in this neighbourhood, where there

are several native huts together, we found newspapers, receipted bills made out in the name of Captain Smith, the mail letters from Adelaide open and torn, the leaves of a Bible and another book, with part of the logbook of the brigantine Maria. This clearly proves that the crew and passengers of the above vessel are the unhappy sufferers, and that they must have come on shore very deliberately, and were making their way to Adelaide, when murdered. It appears strange, however, that they had no weapons of defence with them.

We returned to camp by the forenoon, having swept the country in all directions for at least eight miles to the south, and especially along the narrows. The captives, on our return, much alarmed at the situation they were placed in, pointed out one of their number as the murderer of a whaler named Roach, who came down here nearly two years ago with another sailor, also murdered, from Encounter Bay, to the wreck of the schooner Fanny, that lies on the sea shore, just opposite to where our present encampment is. The captives also pointed to the mainland on the opposite side of the lake, and said that one of the murderers of the crew of the Maria was there, and could be easily taken; and two of them, at the suggestion of Mr. Bonney, volunteered to bring the man over, and to give him up to us. I sent "Encounter Bay Peter" with these men, and they returned at half-past four o'clock in the evening, accompanied by the culprit, who was quite unconscious, till secured, of our being aware that he was one of the murderers. All our prisoners shouted with joy on seeing the man.

Having formally and deliberately investigated every particular relative to the murders, in the presence of those of my own party who were off duty, the Encounter Bay blacks, and the prisoners, and finding that neither of the culprits denied, though they would not actually confess their guilt, I proceeded to pass sentence of death upon them, by virtue of the authority and instructions received from your Excellency, for the guilt of these men was clearly and fully established by the united testimony of all their tribe present, and my own opinion and conviction of their guilt was supported by the unanimous declaration of all the gentlemen around me, as well as of the Encounter Bay blacks.

Yesterday morning (Tuesday, the 25th inst.) I proceeded with my entire party (except a small guard left to protect the camp), the prisoners and murderers, back about fifteen miles to the spot on the sea coast where our unfortunate countrymen lie buried, and where they were likewise murdered, and there, at two minutes past three o'clock, p. m., these two men were executed by hanging, immediately over the grave. They died almost instantly, and both evinced extreme nerve and courage to the last, especially the man who was given over to us by his tribe, and who had the most ferocious and demon-like countenance I ever beheld. He was also a man of extraordinary strength and powerfully made.

After the execution I released the prisoners, and notified that

such was the way the whites punished those who committed murder ; that the present punishment was a merciful one, considering the numerous murders they had committed. I likewise warned them not to touch the bodies, and told them ever to remember this day, and to bring their relatives and children to the spot, that they might all see how the white man punished those who murdered any of his tribe. I then allowed them to depart, and we got back to camp by dark, after a day of heavy rain and much fatigue.

I have reason to think that the persons murdered on the spot alluded to above were Mr. and Mrs. Denham, Strutt, their servant, Mrs. York, and four or five of the Denhams' children. They were killed in the day time, being overpowered in the most insidious and cowardly manner by a large number of blacks, and beaten to death by waddies. They were all unarmed, and the garments of those murdered (female as well as male) were chiefly stained with blood about the back of the collars. The murderer of Roach killed him when sitting down, by a blow of a waddy from behind, and Roach's companion was likewise killed in a similar way, and at the same time, by another black.

The country that we have travelled over, from the mouth to this, averages a mile across, from the south-east branch to the sea shore. It is composed of steep sandy hills and scrubs, with light vegetation at present, in some of the bottoms, and which the horses seemed to relish. Water is abundant almost everywhere along the lake side, and can be easily had by digging a foot or two ; but in some places it is brackish, and in others smells and tastes offensively.

All the European clothes, &c., taken from the natives, with the torn letters and papers, are carefully preserved by me, with the hope that they may be identified on our return to Adelaide by some of the relatives or friends of the deceased.

I send your Excellency the native names of a few of the localities, and the names also of the murderers. But we have been otherwise too much employed, as yet, to attend much to such points :—

The place of execution is called Pilgarn.

Native name of the Big Murray tribe—Milmenrura.

Our present encampment—Tentie.

The island opposite our encampment—Colmoro.

The Narrows—Panca.

The south-east branch of the Lake—Coorong.

Sea mouth of the Murray—Etandua.

The murderer of Roach—Moorcaugua.

The murderer given over to us by his tribe—Mongarawata.

I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

T. O'HALLORAN, Commissioner of Police.

To his Excellency Colonel Gawler, K.H.,

Governor and Commander-in-Chief.



SECOND REPORT OF MAJOR O' HALLORAN, COMMISSIONER OF POLICE,  
TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.

Camp, eleven miles from the Sea, mouth of the Murray, on the North-East bank of the Coorong, Sep. 4, 1840.

SIR,—My last report to your Excellency was closed and despatched on the 26th ultimo by Encounter Bay Peter, and I have now the honour to address you again in continuation.

On the morning of Thursday, the 27th of August, I left the camp at Tentie under charge of Mr. Pullen, and proceeded with the mounted party along the sea-coast to the south-east in search of the wreck of the brig Maria (each man taking a supply of six days' provisions with him), detaching three men to sweep the country along the lake side, and carefully examine all the whirleys they fell in with. The day was cold and wet. At 3 p.m. nine natives were seen at a considerable distance crossing the lake to an island opposite. We examined two of their huts close by, which were full of European clothing; a good silver watch was likewise found, the dial and upper part being stained with blood. Finding it impossible to take any of the clothing with us, each horse having a heavy load to carry, I set fire to the huts and their contents, but the watch I have preserved. We travelled thus in heavy sand and rain about twenty miles.

On Friday, the 28th of August, we again moved off at an early hour, and travelled along the coast till twelve o'clock, when Captain Nixon and Mr. Booney, who had been detached along the lake side, rode over to report that they had fallen in with Thompson and Walker and the rest of the party sent in a whale boat by Captain Hart from Encounter Bay, on Monday, the 17th ult., in search of the wreck of the brig Maria. On joining these men I received the following account from Thompson, and which Captain Nixon took down in his own words:—

THOMPSON'S STATEMENT.

“On Tuesday morning, the 18th of August, we left the mouth of the Murray in a whaleboat, two of us keeping the beach and two the boat. On Wednesday we hauled the boat up where we now are, which we estimate to be one hundred miles from the mouth. We then divided our party; two kept the beach, and two the shores of the lake, so as to be of use to any party who might have been shipwrecked. On Sunday evening, an hour before sundown, we fell in with the longboat of the ‘Maria of Hobart-town’ (the captain's name was not on the boat), two oars and a mast, but no sail. We hauled the boat up to high-water mark, and then walked on and fell in with part of the quarter-deck and skylight, some of

the panes of glass not broken ; about six miles further on towards Cape Jaffa we fell in with the companion. We then walked on to captain Wright's, at Rivoli Bay, but met nothing in our walk except a broken table. We reached Captain Wright's on Monday evening, about three o'clock. Tuesday, about the middle of the day, we left Captain Wright's on our return. Wednesday afternoon we found this key and seal (showing them) fast to the state room door, and part of the larboard quarter, the stern davit, and a quarter davit, one gilt star on the part of the stern that was broken. All her deck is on the beach broken, a cask of fresh water, and several broken boxes. We think she must have been wrecked on Baudin's Reef. Our party consisted of myself, Walker, Fox, Sulloch, two native men and two boys, one of each from Encounter Bay, the other two were met near the wreck of the Fanny."

The information thus obtained from Thompson rendered it unnecessary for me to proceed further ; we therefore, after leaving some provisions with the whalers, who greatly needed such supplies, crossed the lake (here very shallow) to the north-east side of the Coorong, and got back to our camp, which had been moved to the side we were on, and opposite to Tentie, by Sunday, the 30th of August, and where we had the honour of meeting your Excellency.

On Monday, the 31st of August, and Tuesday, the 1st instant, we halted to recruit the men and horses, during which time we learned from a native of the Big Murray tribe called "Tom," and who was left at our camp by Thompson's party, as they passed to Encounter Bay, that the males and one female belonging to the brig Maria had been waddied in the daytime by some of the tribe not far from where we were encamped. These four had separated from Mr Denham's party at the "Narrows," and crossed to the north-east shore of the Coorong (the same side that we are now upon), when, after proceeding for some distance, they were murdered, being clasped round the bodies by some of the savages, whilst others waddied them. "Tom" offered to show us the spot where the murders were committed, and to point out the whirlleys of the murderers, and likewise to identify them if found. This account of "Tom's" perfectly coincided, both as to locality and the persons murdered and murderers, with that previously given to us by the Encounter Bay blacks. The names of two of the murderers, who are brothers, are Pattsrynaka and Poreilpeepol—all the other names Tom had forgotten.

As these murders were perfectly distinct from the others, both as to locality and the persons by whom they were committed, it was considered that the duty in which the force was engaged would not be properly completed until this affair also was searched out as far as circumstances would admit of.

Accordingly, on the morning of Wednesday, the 2nd instant, your Excellency was pleased to order Inspector Tolmer, with half

of the mounted men, to scour the country inland, whilst I proceeded downwards with the other half along the shores of the Coorong, Mr. Pullen and the boats keeping abreast of us. Between eleven and twelve o'clock my party discovered the mangled remains of two Europeans, a male and a female. The hair of the former was light brown, and he must have been a tall and powerful man. The skulls of both were frightfully fractured, especially that of the female, whose lower jawbone was likewise broken. Three of the teeth of this jaw on the left side and two on the right, nearly in front, were decayed, those of the upper jaw were perfect. The man had only lost one tooth, the left front one of the upper jaw. On questioning the native "Tom," whether he was aware before of these two having been murdered, he said "No," but that this place belonged to the murderer Mongarawata, whom we had hanged, and who had been given over to us by his tribe. We buried the dead carefully, examining in all directions for other bodies or graves, but could find none. The shoe of a very large man, however, and several books were discovered (all of which are taken care of), in one of which the name "James Greenshields, 1839," is written in pencil.

On reaching the spot where the other four Europeans had been murdered, and which was about four miles further, none of their bodies could be found after a close and minute examination.

At one o'clock, p.m., I relieved Inspector Tolmer's party with mine, and swept the shores of Lake Albert, so named by your Excellency, after Her Majesty's Royal Consort. It is a fine body of water to the south of Lake Alexandrina, and united to it by a narrow channel. After an active search along this lake (the Albert) and the inland country, till evening, I returned to camp unsuccessful, having seen only a few natives at a great distance from us, and who, long before we could near them, hid in the high and thick weeds that encircle Lake Albert in one continued belt along the entire of its shores as far as seen by us. The impression, however, left on the natives' mind of our activity in thus sweeping their entire country, will, I am persuaded, give them a high notion of our power, and teach them to dread it for the future.

I am happy to state that these murders—which appear to be seventeen in all (fifteen belonging to the Maria, and the two whalers, Roach and his companion, whose name I cannot ascertain till my return to town)—have been committed only by the "Milmenrura," or "Big Murray Tribe," who are notorious among all the natives generally for their brutal and ferocious character. The neighbouring tribes universally evince confidence in us, and abhorrence of the atrocities that have been lately committed.

The party having now been nearly three weeks in the field, actively employed at this very inclement season of the year, in a portion of the province so difficult, and little known—a severe example having been made, and a convincing exhibition given of our strength and determination to punish atrocious crimes—the district also having been well examined for future operations, should they ever

become necessary—I have received your Excellency's order to return with my party forthwith to head-quarters.

I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

T. O'HALLORAN, Commissioner of Police.

To his Excellency Colonel Gawler, K.H..

Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

The preceding papers embrace the *official* version of one of that series of results, which must continue to flow, reciprocally to the colonizing, and to the native race, from a system of colonization, which overlooks the moral and physical claims of the latter. The Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society, immediately on receiving the documents in question, resolved on calling the attention of Parliament, to the melancholy incidents detailed in them, and at a public meeting in the Egyptian Hall, several resolutions were adopted, the substance of which is embraced in the subjoined Petition, which was then also adopted.

We deeply deplore and condemn the instructions of Col. Gawler, and the more than correspondingly reprehensible proceedings of Major O'Halloran,—whose reports exhibit anything but a mind qualified for judicial investigations;—but our purpose here, is less with the executive demerits of the case, than with the fundamental error in principle, of which the case is only one, among innumerable illustrations. Indeed, the instructions of Colonel Gawler, and the kind of fulfilment of those instructions by his agent, are some improvement on the course, which, a few years since was familiarly and frequently adopted, in the Australian Colonies, and Islands of the Pacific, in similar emergencies. Our readers have only to revert to No. I. of our Extracts, for illustration. And, although we cannot excuse the Governor of South Australia, for a proceeding which has even met with the severe animadversion of the independent portions of the press in Adelaide, as well as of the press generally of the neighbouring colonies, we see much in the difficult situation in which a Governor is placed, under the existing colonization system applied to New Holland, to extenuate the offences into which he is betrayed, more by those difficulties, than the natural bias of his mind.

Under that system it is obvious to every coloured man, even the least intelligent—that the extending settlements of the Europeans involve a sentence of banishment and eventual extermination, upon his tribe and race. Major Mitchell, in his Travels refers to this apprehension on the part of the Aborigines—“White man come, Kangaroo go away”—from which as an inevitable consequence follows—“black man finished away.” If, then, this appears a necessary result of the unjust, barbarous, unchristian mode of colonization pursued in New Holland, overlooking the other incidental, and more



pointedly aggravating provocations, to the coloured man, associated with that system, how natural, in his case, is an enmity which occasionally visits some of the usurping race with death! We call the offence in him *murder*; but, let the occasion be only examined, and we must discover that in so designating it, we are imposing geographical, or national restrictions, upon the virtue of patriotism; or that in the manifestations of that principle, we make no allowances for the influence on its features, of the relative degradation or elevation of those among whom it is met.

Our present colonization system renders the native and the colonizing races from necessity belligerents; and there can be no real peace, no real amity, no mutual security, so long as that system is not substituted by one reconciling the interests of both races. Colonists will fall before the spears and the waddies of incensed aborigines, and they in return will be made the victims of "Summary Justice."

In cases of executive difficulty, the force of popular prejudice will be apt to be too strong for the best intentioned Governor to withstand it; Europeans will have sustained injury; the strict forms of legal justice may be found of difficult application to a race outcast or degraded although *originally* in a condition fitted to appreciate them, to benefit by them, and reflect their benefits upon others; impatient at this difficulty, the delay it may occasion, and the shelter from ultimate punishment, the temptation will ever be strong to revert to summary methods of proceeding; and thus, as in a circle, from injustice will be found to flow reciprocal injury, and from injury, injustice again, in another form. The source of all these evils, and of all this injustice, is the unreserved appropriation of native lands, and the denial in the first instance of colonization, of equal civil rights. To the removal of those evils, so far as they can be removed in the older settlements, to their prevention in new colonies, the friends of the aborigines are invoked to direct their energy; to be pacified by the attainment of nothing less; for nothing less will really suffice.

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*To the Honourable the Commons of England in Parliament assembled.*

THE PETITION of the COMMITTEE, MEMBERS, SUPPORTERS, and FRIENDS of the SOCIETY for the PROTECTION of the ABORIGINES, adopted at a Public Meeting in the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, March 10th, 1841.

SHEWETH.

THAT certain Documents have reached this country, purporting to be—1. A series of instructions from Colonel Gawler, Governor of South Australia, addressed to Major O'Halloran, chief of the police of that colony, and to Mr. Pullen, the navy surveyor

there resident ; 2. Report from the said surveyor, and, 3. Report from the chief of police aforesaid, addressed to the Governor ; that the facts related in these documents have arrested the attention of the Aborigines Protection Society, and painfully excited the sympathy and interest of this meeting.

THAT these Documents state very briefly and unsatisfactorily the circumstances of an alleged attack by natives of the Big Murray Tribe, in the vicinity of Encounter Bay, on the crew and passengers of the Brigantine Maria, from Adelaide to New Zealand, wrecked on or near the southernmost point of South Australia, and not far from the recent wreck of another vessel called the " Fanny ;" that the rumour of these wrecks followed by conjectures as to the fate of the parties reached Adelaide, and immediately the navy surveyor was sent out to inquire into the facts and detect the murderers ; and the chief of police was ordered to follow him, and to carry into immediate execution what the Governor terms " Summary Justice" on them.

THAT these Papers enter very fully into the details of the pursuit, the description of the country, and other general matters, but state very imperfectly and disjointedly the evidence on which the Commissioners of the Governor adjudged and sentenced certain of the natives to an ignominious death.

THAT there is no satisfactory proof in these Documents of the justice of this sentence, and that its policy is more than doubtful.

THAT the principle of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, blood for blood, life for life, is inherent in the breast of the uncivilized man who seeks retaliation not merely in revenge, but as an imperative duty exacted by his laws and customs.

THAT it therefore behoved the Christian Governor of a Colony the representative of English Sovereignty, in this as in all similar cases, to have done justice with mercy, and to have seized the opportunity of impressing on the native, not the doctrine which he already feels and obeys, but the more Christian one that punishment is a dread necessity, inflicted, not for the sake of vengeance on the delinquent, but as necessary to the preservation of society.

THAT while to the people of the mother country experience shows that capital punishments are unavailing, even as an example, they can have no other effect, on an uncivilized race than to confirm that wild principle of revenge, which has already produced such dangerous results reciprocally to colonists and natives.

THAT on the approach of strangers, whether of their own or foreign nations, it is usual among uncivilized tribes to expect some signal, as for instance, the " Cri de joie" of the North American Indians, and the " Cooee" of the Australians ; that in the absence of such salute or sign of truce and peace they have, in ignorance or fear, committed offences, for which they cannot be justly or reasonably held guilty in the manner, or on the principle of the murderer *prepcense* of civilized nations.

THAT your petitioners beseech your honourable house to have brought before it, all the papers and persons calculated to throw light on this transaction, to sift such evidence, and pronounce an opinion upon it, that such evidence and decision may be printed and distributed, and that provision be made by the enunciation of right principles, and the promulgation of sufficiently stringent rules, to prevent, for the future, any such exercise of colonial authority against the natives of the Settlements and Territories of Great Britain.

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### MEMORIAL TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

A joint deputation from the Western Australian Company and from the Aborigines' Protection Society recently presented the following memorial to Lord John Russell, to which the subjoined answer was received a few days subsequently. The Secretary of State for the Colonies on repeated occasions lately has evinced the most favourable disposition to the objects of the Society,—to the claims of the aborigines,—and we are not without hope, that in our future colonization under his Lordship's auspices that disposition will be systematically carried out. We need scarcely explain that there is only a verbal mistake in that part of Mr. Vernon Smith's letter, which speaks of the expenses being defrayed by the 'Society;' all that is intended is that the government should not be burdened, and it being understood from the concurrent memorial of the Company and the Society, that the Western Australian Company should defray the charge of the mission.

### MEMORIAL TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

The Aborigines' Protection Society is truly solicitous to abstain from trespassing on the time and attention of Lord John Russell, except on occasions of adequate and urgent importance. Such an occasion they conceive to have presented itself in the formation and progress of the colony of Western Australia. In the justice, humanity, and liberality of the directors of this enterprise, the Memorialists see, with gratitude, the strongest grounds for hope that the object of the Aborigines' Protection Society, as respects that colony, will be zealously and ably promoted. Nevertheless, the concurrence and support of the government are essential to the success of any plan from which lasting benefit to the natives may be looked for. It is the object of the present memorial to solicit this support from Lord John Russell; and the Directors of the Western Australian Company, individually and collectively, concur in this petition. The petition embraces three points:

First. An arrangement with the natives for the extinction of their title to the crown lands of the colony, and the security to these

natives of a portion of land adequate to supply the means of their peaceful existence.

Secondly. Measures which may afford, both to the natives and to European settlers, that security of life and property the absence of which is the fruitful source of evils in other colonies similarly instituted, and which, unless averted by seasonable precautions, must, by their recurrence in Western Australia, seriously interfere with the happiness and prosperity which it must be the united wish of Her Majesty's Government and of the Company, that it should enjoy.

Thirdly. The adoption of measures which may promote the advancement of the aborigines (who have virtually become our adopted fellow-subjects), and secure to them the enjoyment of equal civil rights with the other inhabitants of the colony.

In contemplating the difficulties which present themselves in the construction of measures to attain these points, it has appeared evident that the first step to their removal is the acquisition of full and authentic information on the whole subject. This, it is believed, can only be effected by the exertions of an able and qualified person expressly devoted to the inquiry. The Western Australian Company has volunteered to contribute liberally towards the expense of sending out such an individual, if selected by the Aborigines' Protection Society, provided the mission receive the sanction and support of the government, and with the understanding that Her Majesty's government so far recognises the principle of aboriginal claims as to insure the adoption of any really practical measures which may be devised. In cordially uniting with these views of the Western Australian Company, the Aborigines' Protection Society only seeks the practical adoption of principles already laid down by Commissioners of the Crown in the formation of the colony of South Australia, and which, in the case of that colony, have become a dead letter for want of provisions similar to those which it is the object of this memorial to crave.

Signed, in behalf of the Society,

FREDERICK MAITLAND INNES, *Secretary.*

*Downing Street, March 11, 1841.*

SIR,—I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of a memorial signed by you on behalf of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, soliciting the concurrence and support of Her Majesty's Government in the adoption of measures for promoting the welfare of the Aboriginal inhabitants of the colony of Western Australia, and proposing as the first step towards that object, the appointment of a well qualified person to proceed to the colony for the purpose of acquiring full and authentic information on the subject. In reply, I am to request that you will acquaint the Committee that his Lordship sees no objection to the proposed mission of inquiry on the understanding that the expenses attending



it are to be defrayed by the Society, and as soon as the appointment of a person to undertake that duty shall be notified to his Lordship, the Governor of Western Australia will be instructed to afford him every facility in his power.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

F. M. INNES, Esq.

R. VERNON SMITH.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE ABORIGINES,

*Formed 1836.*

SURREY AUXILIARY SOCIETY,

*Formed 1841.*

THE Committee of the Surrey Auxiliary Society for the Protection of the Aborigines beg leave to address their members, subscribers, friends, and the public in general, in support of their views.

The severe pressure which occasionally affects the manufacturing and labouring population of these kingdoms, has frequently induced large bodies of our countrymen to emigrate to the settlements and colonies of Great Britain, in search of a new market for labour, and a clearer scope for the development of their numbers and their power.

There can be no doubt, that this diffusion and spreading of civilized races on hitherto uncultivated lands is intended, in the great purposes of providence, to work incalculable good. The relief from pressure is felt at home in the greater demand for labor, and the commerce that immediately springs up between a colony and the mother country, as it brings the raw material from the former, and carries back the manufactured goods of the latter, acts with mutual advantage on the adopted land of the emigrant, and on the country of his birth.

It is for the colonist and the merchant to promote and regulate emigration in such manner as to render most valuable the land of the new settlements, and to increase to the utmost extent the demand in the colony for the manufactures of this country.

In nearly all these colonies and settlements, however, there are original owners and proprietors—the aboriginal lords of the soil, the native tribes of the several countries, whose interests are seldom considered, and whose very existence is too often forgotten, or altogether overlooked. Yet it is for the safety and well-being of the colonist, more especially, that the rights of the natives should be very clearly understood, their peculiar habits and prejudices regarded, and that every effort should be used for the amelioration of their moral and social condition; for, on the civilization of the natives must depend the welfare and, very often, the personal safety, of the emigrant. Labour is the great demand in a new settlement; yet in all colonies the native has been either enslaved, provoked to enmity, or utterly destroyed and extirpated.

The Spanish and Portuguese settlers in SOUTH AMERICA, and the French and British Colonists in the North, found millions of natives of various races capable of civilization, and apparently designed by providence to assist, and be assisted by, their civilized brethren. But no tribe of aborigines of either America has profited by the whites; in the south they are subdued, and in the north, at this day, (with the excepted few civilized and Christian Indians within the Canada border,) they are either struggling for existence or executing a terrific vengeance; or, at an enormous expense, and with ill-concealed discontent, are being conveyed by the power of the United States, beyond the boundaries of civilization, to the lands of the far west.\*

In this vast region, the immense tracts which form the Canadas, the United States, Texas, and Mexico, on the one continent, and on the other the far-extending English, French, and Dutch Guiana, the powerful Brazilian empire, the numerous republics of Colombia, Peru, and Buenos Ayres, have been seized from their aboriginal owners, who have been in all cases cruelly persecuted, and in many utterly extirpated by the whites—the history of whose usurpations is written in blood and fire; and, as regards the new republics, have, in a just retribution, been the slaves of a fanatic superstition, a bigoted tyranny, or a wild anarchy, from the first outrage on the aborigines until this hour.

In AFRICA, while we fairly condemn the French, who are, in these enlightened days, professedly engaged in the extermination of the Arab tribes, from whom they have usurped Algeria, and are spreading destruction under the name of colonization, let us look to our own colony in the south. Here is a mighty country, from which the Hottentot race has been all but expelled, a remnant merely remaining, who are now seeking civilization and practising industry. Here we find the Caffres on the frontier appeased by treaties which, when carried out in their right spirit, secure good neighbourhood; (but, on the other hand, we perceive a warlike body,) the descendants of the early settlers, disgusted with this peace, have advanced into the country of the Zoolahs, destroying thousands of the men, enslaving the women and children, sowing discord among tribes, and possessing the earth from which they have driven the natives, in defiance of the colonial authority and that of the British government, as well as against every principle of reason and justice.

The auxiliaries of the British and Foreign Society for the Protection of the Aborigines, and its correspondents and friends, have impressed the public mind by the publication and exposure of these facts, and have otherwise served the cause of the native tribes; in the case of South Africa more especially, through the instrumentality of Sir Andries Stockenström, an honoured member of this Society, who acted as Lieutenant-governor of the Cape, and by whom the treaties alluded to were drawn up and negotiated.

\* The Seminoles in Florida, the Cumanchees between Mexico and Texas, and the Chippeway tribes of New York are cases in point.

The interests of the ASIATIC aborigines are the peculiar care of a Society branching from this for the protection of the aborigines. We allude to the British India Society.

The aborigines of the AUSTRALIAS have been grossly misrepresented and cruelly persecuted. The natives of Van Diemen's Land have been swept from the earth with the exception of a small number now withering away on Flinders' Island.

In New South Wales the most revolting atrocities have been practised by the outcasts of mankind upon the blacks ; the convict has been encouraged by his master to bear arms against them, and he who was banished Europe for a petty theft has there been taught to murder with impunity. Hence the hatred and revenge of the blacks, which have, in various instances, on that great island-continent, on the frontiers of the Sydney settlement, at Port Philip, at the Swan River settlement, and in South Australia, caused serious injury to the settlers. Happily, the founders of the more recent settlements in New Zealand and Australia, have recognised and adopted a more equitable system with regard to the aborigines ; and have projected, and are now carrying out measures expressly devised for their protection and elevation. Do not all these facts demonstrate the absolute necessity of a society which shall have power and influence with the people of this country, to induce the government to regulate and control the colonial authorities in the exercise of their now ill-defined functions ; not only for the preservation of the natives, but for the safety and the interests, here and hereafter, of the settlers?

The members of the Surrey Auxiliary Society, having been satisfied of the intentions and influence of the parent institution, are anxious to co-operate in its objects. By means of occasional meetings and printed documents to enlighten the public mind ; by impressing the future emigrant with right principles, to secure his welfare and the exercise of his justice and benevolence towards the natives, for their sake and his own ; by occasional interviews with members of the government, and frequent appeals to parliament and the throne, to call attention to every case of wrong ; to influence the power of government in support of the principles of justice and mercy ; to support every step made for the civilization of the native races, whether by the Christian missionary, the scientific traveller, the merchant, or settler.

To open churches and schools ; to supply the plough and spade ; to encourage the wearing of decent apparel, and the exertion of industry, and, by thus advancing the native, restraining the colonist, and instructing both in the habits and principles of each other, to serve the poor of our native country, by rendering safe the lands to which they may emigrate ; to encourage the demand for labour at home, and for British manufactures in the colonies ; and to spread mutual trust, peace, and good-will between races of men whose common good depends upon their understanding and duly estimating each other.

All who approve these principles will best sanction them, and aid their promulgation, by joining this Society, speaking or writing in its defence, supporting its objects, or increasing its funds. "Union is strength," and the aggregate of small offerings makes large means. The labourer and manufacturer of England, the poor settler who is the advanced guard of civilization—and the native lord of the yet uncultivated soil, are equally the objects of interest to this society. Then does not every principle of Christianity, justice, humanity, and patriotism, combine to stimulate the friend of his country and of mankind to its support?

### AMERICAN STATE POLICY.

We are indebted to the Times for the subjoined extract of a letter from Florida, which, with the introduction to it, we adopt only in so far as it bears on the objects of justice and humanity to the Indians.

"We beg to refer to a letter from Florida, which appears in another column, as containing some very curious illustrations of the policy adopted by some of the American States, both in regard to their dealings with their creditors, and to that far more important question in the scale of humanity, the expulsion or extermination of the aboriginal tribes of Indians. A darker blot than the whole proceedings connected with the latter subject has never, we believe, stained the annals of any country: as to the non-paying system now exhibited as taking firm root in the south, it is no more than should have been expected from those who parted with their money in aid of the wild and reckless schemes afloat in that quarter. Both are replete with instruction. We may take occasion, when we have space to spare, to give a few extracts from the message of the Governor of Florida referred to in the letter above mentioned.

(EXTRACT OF A LETTER.)

*Tallahussee, Florida, Jan. 18.*

"In my opinions and representations concerning the commerce and the commercial finance of this country, I may be regarded by some people as extravagant: this idea makes me the more alive to any statements, public or private, coming under my notice which afford corroborative proof of their truth and justice. In this sense I transmit to you the *Floridan* newspaper of the 16th inst., promulgating the deliberate message of the Governor to the Legislative Council, assembled here a few days after my arrival. This document, appended to the message of the President of the United States to Congress, would be, I consider, of great value to any one seeking to penetrate the real principle of the public men dispensing the administration of Government, the state of social and moral action, and the political, commercial, and physical condition of the country. It seems to me that both messages present the darkest—I might say the most impious—hypocrisy, looking to those parts which treat of the extirpation of the Seminole Indians. Governor



Reid, you will observe, finishes his first paragraph with the late exploit of 'the *gallant* Colonel Harvey, as well calculated to *intimidate* the Indians, and incline them to abandon their *barbarous resistance*.' Now, this 'gallant act,' was hanging nine of his prisoners in cold blood! and perhaps the Governor had in his mind at the time the publicly avowed intention of the General to hang every person he might take! The Seminoles are fighting in self defence—in defence of their homes, of their families, and of the graves of their ancestry. They claim hereditary possession of the country, by an uncontradicted descent from the aborigines. They ask the quiet enjoyment of their liberty: they appeal for equality to a republic of democrats, who have boasted their constitution as based on the eternal and divine enunciation that God hath created his creatures free and equal, who rebelled, and justified their rebellion, from their parent state, not because freedom was denied by that state, but because the fostering Government that had planted them, nurtured, protected, and advanced them from broken bands into powerful and happy communities, thought they had the right to direct some of the sources of wealth which they had opened for them, to the discharge of the expenditure which that Government had incurred in bringing them into so improved a condition. These I say are the people who hold millions of God's creatures in bondage, in savage despotism, and who, not content with almost a quarter of the globe for their union, are bent on butchering down an ancient unoffending race to possess themselves of their lands. When such a Government, supreme or collectively, speak of honour, faith, truth, an involuntary shudder creeps over me, the soul sickens at such an exhibition of its depraved nature in seeing man thus dare his Maker and his fellow-creature with such falseness."

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### SOUTH AFRICA.

WE are happy to announce to our friends the safe return to his native land of Mr. James Backhouse, a member of the Society of Friends, who, with Mr. George Washington Walker, has been devoting many years to the cause of humanity, in our Australian colonies, and latterly has visited the Cape of Good Hope.

Prior to the departure from Cape Town of Mr. Backhouse for England, and of Mr. Walker for Van Diemen's land, a meeting was held, at which these devoted and esteemed travellers gave the results of their mission of inquiry in the interior of South Africa among the different native tribes. The following extracts are from the account of Mr. Backhouse,—in which there will be found some things to the shame of our people—some things which ought to stimulate us to good works, both retributive and merciful—and some things to cheer and encourage us.

We learn that the Dutch have been surpassed by the English in the criminal practice of stimulating the natives in the use of strong drinks. But that having to some extent become enlightened to the evils accruing from such habits, the natives are now abandoning them

and evincing every disposition to acquire knowledge, both intellectual and practical. How can we assist them in these dawnings of a better day? Accumulated evidence is given to the capacity of these portions of the common family of mankind, and the sin is stamped upon those who may impede their progress,—sin no longer to be obscured by the disputes of false science respecting the African's capabilities. This latter remark may appear very obvious and trite to those who have accustomed themselves to look with a candid mind on the question of human improvement to which it relates; but, in making it, we have in view the objections perpetually raised in the public meetings of the Aborigines' Protection Society,—objections a thousand times confuted, but for ever unblushingly revived. Mr. Backhouse says:

“ In the commencement of our journey, we visited the Hottentot stations within the colony, taking our route by Gnadenthal and Elim, two Moravian institutions. Thence we went to Zuurbraak, Zoar, and so on to Hankey; and we were very much interested in observing that, although there were circumstances in the present situation of some of these stations which discouraged the missionaries, there was nevertheless a marked advancement in civilization from what must be supposed to have been the original state of the tribes under their care. This observation we had again an opportunity of making on visiting tribes of uncivilized Hottentots, and we found the difference was very great. At some of the stations, it is perhaps necessary to say, since the period we were there, encouraging awakenings have taken place; and where clouds appeared hanging over them, the brightness of sunshine has burst forth.

“ The first place where we saw a *native* publicly taking part in Christian worship was at Pacaltsdorp, where we heard one preach. Not having yet learned sufficient Dutch, we could not understand what he conveyed; but there was a gravity in his delivery, and an evident solemnity of feeling on the part of the congregation, which marked them as being under an influence not to be despised. We were at Hankey on the memorable day when the slaves became free; and attended with great satisfaction the meetings which were then held to return thanks unto God for the great blessing of which so many had come into the enjoyment. The meetings were addressed by some of those who had been slaves, and by several Hottentots of the Institution, and very interesting and animated communications were made.

“ The Hottentot congregation of the London Missionary Society has suffered grievously from the influence of strong drink, and from canteens being kept open, under the sanction of government, which are not necessary for the accommodation of travellers. But a more prolific source of evil even than spirit-shops has been the practice, followed so generally by those who professed to be Christians, *of extorting labour by strong drink, or, at least, showing an unwillingness to pay for labour in anything else*. Since the agitation of the subject of temperance, this practice has very much declined; yet I have heard Hottentots give as a reason of their removal from Graham's Town, that the white people would scarcely give them any kind of wages but *sooppes* (drams); and I have no doubt that the same testimony could be borne against Cape Town. In stating this painful truth, however, it would be an act of injustice to the Dutch colonists not to state also my conviction, that those who have been foremost in obtaining labour for strong drink have been persons from the British dominions; *they have fallen into this sin to a much greater extent, I believe, than the Dutch colonial population*.

“ We then visited the stations where Charles Stretch was making some

interesting experiments to introduce agriculture among the Caffers ; so as to bring them more under the influence of the gospel than in their scattered state. Generally the kraals consist of only from six to ten huts ; but the Caffers between the Fish River and the Kye are nearly ten times more numerous on the ground than the white population in most parts of the colony. We also visited the station on the Keiskama, under Frederiek Keyser, and one of the Glasgow Mission stations in that vicinity ; also Burnshill and some others, at all of which we found some progress made in the gospel. We thought the missionaries of the Glasgow Society excelled in their schools, where the interrogatory system which they had introduced to a great degree appeared to give the scholars a clear apprehension of what they read. The interest thus excited is so great that to the school under Robert Niven *some of the pupils come from a distance of nine miles of their own accord, for it is a matter of choice with the children, the parents seldom urging their attendance.*

“When we came to the Vaal River, we found ourselves in the atmosphere of the Griqua Mission, and the change was great to a degree beyond what description can convey an idea of. Hearing there was a station a little up the river, we pressed on to be able to visit them on the Sabbath morning, but the road was stony and more difficult than we expected, so that we did not arrive until the congregation was just breaking up ; but they readily re-assembled, and I addressed them in the imperfect manner I have described. When I named a text, thirty well-dressed women (though the whole congregation were comparatively well-dressed) turned to the place and found it as readily as ourselves. If our wagons had been laden with bibles and hymn-books, we could have unloaded them all here with every prospect of their being useful, *for we found that nearly the whole population under about thirty years of age, in the vicinity of Griqua Town, were able to read their bibles.* This station was under the care of a native teacher, named Dirk Kok.

“At Griqua Town we found, besides the Griqua congregation, an extensive congregation of Corannas. We found also that great numbers of the inhabitants of the country had been brought to a knowledge of the gospel through the medium of individuals who come occasionally from stations at a distance, and, after remaining for a period, go back and communicate the knowledge they have received. On the stations of Matabee and the old chief Semino three hundred are instructed through the medium of native teachers ; there being six teachers at one of these stations, and two at the other. At Daniel’s Kuil there was a congregation principally consisting of Grikwas, with three native teachers, one of whom was a woman. Taking the views we do, as a Society, of women’s preaching, it was with no small satisfaction we found one standing up as a Deborah, ‘a mother in Israel.’ The missionaries say, that of the three teachers her gift is the greatest, and therefore they let her and the others find their proper places in the church. We also visited the Kuruman, where there had recently been a number of conversions, and an addition of 150 or 200 members had taken place. Connected with this there are a number of out-stations. One of these is a Coranna station, under a chief named Mashaw, who has, as well as his brother, come so decidedly under the influence of the gospel, that when left by his people, who were induced to remove from the neighbourhood, he determined to remain alone rather than to forsake the blessings of which he had been made a partaker. Also at a French station which we visited, a good work is going forward.”

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#### Texas.

The citizens of the new republic of Texas are not less remarkable for their determined and revolting attachment to slavery, than for their persevering destruction of the Aboriginal tribes whose territories they are

appropriating; and accounts are received that they are rapidly organizing a militia throughout the republic for this purpose. A considerable number of Indians, invited with the semblance of peace, have been attacked and killed or made prisoners.

“The latest Texan papers detail an act of brutal treachery towards a party of Cumanchee Indians, by a detachment of Texan troops, under the Secretary of War, W. G. Cooke. A body of the Cumanchees, about sixty-five in number, arrived at San Antonio on the 16th of March with a Miss Lockhart, a little girl, captured from another tribe about eighteen months ago. The object of the visit, it appears, was to hold a council with the agents of the Texan Government for the ransom of their prisoner, and to ascertain if they would be paid for others in their possession. The Indians were invited to a council, but while assembled in the room, two companies of troops were marched in, and they were all destined to be prisoners. The Indians finding they were betrayed, made a rush to escape, and a fight commenced, which resulted in the death of fifty-five warriors, principally chiefs, two women, and three children. A small number who escaped across the river were pursued by mounted men, and every one killed but a renegade Mexican. The Texan loss was seven killed and three wounded. The next day a squaw was despatched to request an exchange of prisoners, and it was expected that she would return in four days with the captives. An expedition was to march against the Cumanchees forthwith.—*St. Lucia Independent Press.*

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*From the Church of England Quarterly Review, Jan. 1840.*

In Australia, and the new colonies more especially, we might expect to see a comprehensive plan of Christian instruction accompanying the charter under which the colony is planted. There are two claims, each of the deepest importance: first, that of the emigrant, who, in abandoning his country, ought not to be called on to forsake his God, or to neglect his worship. The second claim is, that of the unhappy native of the soil, the true proprietor. When urged by the necessity of civilization, pressed by increasing population, the old hive swarms, and the young colony fastens on its destined seat, the wretched Indian is driven from his hunting-ground, and too often without any corresponding advantage, unless the contamination of sins before unheard of, and the degenerating influence of European society, be deemed a benefit. Our honesty does not forbid our taking his possessions to our use; our charity does not prompt us to the necessary efforts for his instruction and conversion. Surely the aborigines of our colonies, the uncultivated heathen, demand spiritual instruction at the hands of the government, that, in taking away their all, promises them protection and civilization in exchange.

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The FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING of the ABORIGINES' PROTECTION SOCIETY, will be held in EXETER HALL, on Tuesday, May 11th. The friends of humanity are invited to attend.

\* \* \* Subscriptions in aid of the Society may be paid to the Treasurer, Henry Tuckett, at Drewett and Fowler's, 1, Prince's Street, Bank; to the Secretary, 17, Beaufort Buildings, Strand; Overend, Gurney and Co., Lombard Street; and Smith and Elder, Cornhill.



EXTRACTS

97

FROM THE

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ABORIGINES' PROTECTION SOCIETY.

VOL. II—No. IV.

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## SUMMARY JUSTICE IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

A considerable portion of the last number of Extracts is devoted to what is called "Summary Justice" in Australia. A letter has been received by a member of the Committee from a highly respectable and influential resident at Adelaide. It is here published, in order to exhibit the kind of feeling which is very naturally excited in the minds of colonists by the perpetration of barbarous aggressions on the part of the uncivilized neighbours. In dissenting from their sentiments, the Committee is far from indifferent to the dangers and difficulties to which their countrymen are exposed when under the existing system they are brought into practical relation with the aborigines. It is of very great importance that in South Australia, and indeed in all our other colonies, the views of the friends of the aborigines, who advocate their cause in the mother country, should not be misunderstood, as it is to be feared has unhappily been the case, more especially in South Africa. With the hope of in some degree averting such misunderstanding, as well as to elucidate the case immediately under consideration, an extract is also given from the letter which has been sent in reply to the colonist.

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*Adelaide, 26, 9, 1840.*

My dear Friend,

It is now a considerable time since I addressed a letter to thee, and I now do so, as I believe that the late occurrences here will render some private information valuable to thee, as interested in the welfare of the aborigines of Australia, and as connected with the Aborigines' Protection Society at home. The brig *Maria* has, as thou wilt have been informed, been wrecked in the neighbourhood of Encounter Bay, on her passage from Adelaide to Hobarton, and about sixteen individuals, men, women, and children, escaped on shore, taking with them their clothes, the log book of the vessel, and a variety of articles, which proved they had had time to escape deliberately. The whole of these individuals were put to death, it appears, in small parties, by the Big Murray River tribe of natives, who are hostile to those with whom we are in communication. The measures adopted thou wilt have the same opportunity as myself to become acquainted with. The first expedition found some of the bodies of the *Maria's* passengers, which confirmed the reports previously in circulation. The question which has here raised so much discussion is, whether Colonel Gawler, our governor, has acted illegally or otherwise, in issuing a commission for the

summary trial of the murderers, and their execution if found guilty to the extent of three individuals. His instructions are published; I mean those to the Commissioner of Police, and I wished to record my opinion, as one who has always been much and warmly interested in all measures concerning the native population, that Colonel Gawler did no more than the exigency of the case required. It was obviously useless, or worse than useless, to bring prisoners to Adelaide away from their tribe, and from the local circumstances which could alone substantiate their guilt; and if their lives had been taken here, no good results could have been expected from such a procedure on the minds of their tribe. Our worthy governor's well-known anxiety to promote a good understanding with the natives, and his zeal for their welfare, will, I have no doubt, be kept in mind by thee in reflecting on this affair; and I believe there is but one opinion here among those who disapprove of what they term his unwarrantable stretch of authority, as to the policy of the proceedings adopted. When this tribe, which it must do before long, comes into contact with settlers, this example must have a salutary effect in restraining them from the commission of outrages which from their hostile character they would be inclined to commit.

I hope that if, in the opinion of the friends of the aborigines at home, the governor's conduct is thought to be illegal, his motives will be respected, and that no attempt will be made to make such a peculiar circumstance as the one now under discussion a matter of serious complaint against Colonel Gawler. It is my opinion that his high standing as a Christian and a benevolent and humane man will prevent any ill effects from the tone adopted by many as respects this affair, and I wished as soon as possible to convey to thee my sentiments on this subject.

Our general relations with the natives continue very much the same; much pains is taken in the school in Adelaide to teach the children, and induce the adults to adopt a more settled mode of life; but I cannot see much results effected as yet: the children are very quick in learning to read their own language.

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*Extract from the Letter written in Reply to the preceding.*

In the No. of Extracts for the 4th month, thou wilt see that our society has already taken up the subject of the summary punishment of the Encounter Bay blacks, to which thy letter alludes. Although we have felt strongly on the case, we have individually and collectively desired the course which we have taken should in no respect have a personal character as respects Colonel Gawler. In detailing the case at public meetings, we have taken especial care to notice in conjunction with his proceedings in this case the fact that he went out entertaining the best feelings towards the Aborigines, and professedly uniting with the objects of our society, and that in his capacity of Governor he



had on various occasions exhibited himself their friend, provided them with food and clothing, and by precept as well as example endeavoured to encourage the growth of proper feelings on the part of the colonists. All these facts, however, do not alter the state of the case as respects the line of policy which he adopted in the affair of the Encounter Bay blacks. On the contrary, as the deliberate act of a humane individual, who in many respects may and will be held up as an example, it seems especially desirable that its impropriety should be clearly and generally pointed out. The course pursued by Colonel Gawler I apprehend to have been both legally irregular and politically inexpedient. On the first point I need say but little, as my opinion on a legal question is of no value; but I understand from those better acquainted with judicial proceedings than myself, that a commission for summary punishment is altogether inconsistent with British judicial proceedings. I have not heard a doubt expressed upon this point, nor have I felt any myself. It may likewise be questioned how far the Big Murray tribe of blacks may be regarded in relation to our laws. There is doubtless a great difficulty in determining what is the correct mode of dealing with culprits of this class, who are not only ignorant of our laws, but have never been acquainted with the high standard of morality which we profess to uphold, and whose political connexion with us is of the most vague and undefined character, being sometimes regarded as British subjects, sometimes talked of as foreigners having independent rights, and more often treated as if they had no rights at all. When we consider that our occupation of the country is in every respect an aggression upon its aboriginal inhabitants, that this aggression has often been conjoined with personal injury and even destruction of life, that in their barbarous customs retaliation is not confined to the offender, but extends to his relatives,—it need not be a matter of surprise that the Encounter Bay blacks, or other natives similarly circumstanced, who may have heard of native lives being taken by Europeans, should not spare the lives of innocent Europeans when they fall within their power, and moreover present the temptation of many articles which they must be anxious to possess. With such difficulties inseparable from your present relations with the natives, it would seem to be peculiarly important that your transactions with them in all cases of injury inflicted or received should be of the most regular character, if it be really designed that the natives should ultimately be brought to conform to our rules, and understand and respect the operation of our criminal laws. With respect to the particular case under consideration, I do not see that the expedition of colonists under command of Major O'Halloran can be made out to be anything else than a rade into a border country for the sake of reprisals. A part of the proceedings may have had somewhat the character of a trial; but who were the judge and jury before whom the offenders were cited? O'Halloran and his own party, some confessedly hostile natives of another tribe, and a few of their own people acting under evident personal apprehension. The offence for which the

men were executed was not that on which the party was sent out from the colony to act. Some natives appear to have been shot, without trial, and without their making any resistance, and the whole affair was concluded by setting fire to native huts and their contents, which would be followed up by reciprocal aggression if the party who received the chastisement had the power of making it. In fact, O'Halloran himself says, the impression left on the native mind by our activity in thus sweeping their country will, I am persuaded, give them a high notion of our power, and teach them to dread in future the retaliation which the natives may by their weakness be prevented from exercising openly, but which we may expect that they will inflict by treachery, whenever a favourable opportunity may tempt them to do so. The expedition of Major O'Halloran is an immense improvement on the vindictive reprisals which have been made by men-of-war's boats upon various native villages of the islands of the Pacific, in consequence of acts of violence committed on the persons of Europeans, which acts had in all probability been the consequence of previous injuries perpetrated by our countrymen; but, like these reprisals, it is to be feared that though it may have exhibited our power, it will be very inefficient as a means of prevention.

In whatever respect we regard the late transaction with the Encounter Bay blacks, it is an occurrence which in an especial manner claims the attention of the Aborigines' Protection Society, not for the purpose of making any personal attack on Colonel Gawler, to which we should at all times be averse, but now more particularly under his peculiar circumstances; but rather for the sake of exhibiting the practical evils of our existing relations with uncivilized nations, even when the executive is placed in the hands of well-intentioned and upright men; and the absolute necessity for a reformed and regular system, if anything effectual is to be done to secure the permanent safety and improvement of these people.

If I may judge from thy own letters, I conclude thou wilt say, but what is to be done?—it will never do to let these brutal fellows go on murdering our countrymen with impunity; we shall soon be extending our settlement into their territories, and they must be taught not to interrupt our progress. I reply, that the first step is that which Government itself should take in preparing the way for settlers, by making previous arrangements with the natives, whether they exist as tribes or in a more detached and scattered state of society, as is generally understood to be the case amongst your neighbours. This might incur some trouble and expense in the outset, but it would be more than saved in the long run by the security of life and property, and by the diminished necessity for more expensive but less availing grants for the public service in connexion with the natives, for their coercion, their removal, or their maintenance, as has been the case in Van Diemen's land, in the Swan River settlement, and elsewhere. Thou mayest form some idea of what we conceive that the preparatory measures should be, by a reference to Standish Motte's outline; but I may observe in reference to the

present question, that the essential point is the bringing of the natives collectively under systematic British or colonial influence, rather than leaving them to be influenced by occasional impressions of terror or affection, and only bound by vague treaties made with them as independent people.

The system which we recommend would provide for the cognizance and punishment of offences against the persons and property of natives or settlers. The execution in the first place rests in part with suitable whites distributed amongst the natives, to guide and assist them; whilst the due observance of the system might be secured by retaining a few well-selected natives in the colony as hostages, where their residence might be turned to the greatest advantage, by giving them that knowledge which they should impart to their countrymen, and by obtaining from them that insight into their language, customs, and character, the defect of which must be a fruitful root of evil both to whites and blacks.

Whilst I object to the manner in which the Encounter Bay case has been treated, as respects the character of the proceedings, I do not less disapprove of the kind of punishment inflicted. Supposing that the parties tried were the murderers, which was probably the fact, capital punishment, which in common with many others I regard as at all times objectionable, appears in this particular case to have been peculiarly inexpedient, as stated in our petition to Parliament. This punishment too closely resembles the savage and vindictive practices of the natives, which it is our duty and interest to teach them to relinquish; the infliction of it will not raise the moral character of the survivors, but the remembrance of it must inevitably be associated with ideas of revenge. Supposing that we were agreed as to the mode in which the apprehension, trial, and conviction of the parties took place, it would, in my opinion, have been infinitely better to have induced their tribe to have given them as prisoners for a limited period, during which time they should have been employed in the colony, and made to understand our view of their offence, and the nature of our proceedings in relation to it; they would also have acquired some other important and practical knowledge connected with the arts of civilized life, which they might have carried back to their countrymen, who might thereby have been taught to respect both us and our laws. When we consider the great disadvantages under which the natives have existed, it is not unreasonable to expect more decided improvement from a native murderer than from a European guilty of the like offence. In connexion with this subject, I should wish to refer thee and thy brother colonists to the case of Guido Procrane, related in our second number of this year's Extracts, in which thou wilt find an account of the mode in which this recently reclaimed savage dealt with individuals of another tribe who had committed murder on some of his people. He neither took their punishment into his own hands, nor required that their lives should be taken by their brethren, as British officers have done with regard to Africans, even without their being tried

by their chiefs. He merely required that they should be condemned to a limited period of labour. His course is not only a bright example to Christian legislators, but is one which is the most likely to reclaim the wandering Indian, and render him prosperous himself, and a blessing rather than an evil to his neighbours.

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#### COUNTERFEITING FOREIGN COIN AT SHEFFIELD.

*John Hamon Sutton* (30, imp.), charged with having, on the 11th of December last, at Sheffield, in the West Riding, made and counterfeited one hundred coins, called dollars, not the proper coin of this realm, nor permitted to be current within the same, but resembling, and made with intent to resemble and look like the silver coin of the foreign state of Mexico.

The Hon. J. S. Wortley and Mr. Pickering were for the prosecution; the prisoner was defended by Mr. Baines.

The prisoner comes from Canada; and on Thursday, the 10th of December, he went to the shop of Mr. Briggs, an extensive Britannia and plated metal goods manufacturer, in Sheffield. He did not on that occasion see Mr. Briggs; but next day he called, and Mr. Briggs being in, he asked him if he could make him some medals. Mr. Briggs replied that he could, and inquired what he wanted them for. He said he was an agent to a company in America, and had received directions to get these medals struck for the purpose of *sending them over to America, to be used in trafficking with the Indians for furs*. He then went away, and next day called again at Mr. Briggs's shop, taking with him a pair of dies, and a medal resembling a Mexican dollar, having a ring in it. He asked Mr. Briggs if he could make chains and rings of the same description of metal as the medals; but as Mr. Briggs could not, the matter dropped. They then agreed for *the medals*, the prisoner ordering 2400 of them to be *made of Britannia metal, and plated*, at 1s. 6d. each, and left £90 as part payment for them. The dies were then put into play, but were found to be bad, and in consequence fresh dies were to be cut, under the direction of the prisoner, by a Mr. Brown, at Sheffield. While Mr. Briggs was engaged in executing the order, the prisoner came, and, saying that he had been disappointed of some funds, he reduced the order to 1500. He was told that he had better have the ring-holders cut previous to their being wrapped up for exportation; but he refused, saying it would be better that each medal should be fitted with its own ring at Birmingham. The striking of the medals was being proceeded with, and 125 of them were struck, when suspicion was excited, and the prisoner was written to at Liverpool, where he resided. He soon came over, and asserted that the medals were not intended to be passed as coin. He paid for what medals were struck, and also for the dies and a quantity of *cutlery fitted for the American market, consisting of bowie knives, dirks, &c.*, which he had bought of Mr. Briggs. He was afterwards apprehended, and a letter, purporting to be from New Orleans from his employers, directing him to get the medals struck, was found on his person.

Mr. Baines, for the defence, addressed the jury, contending that the prisoner was a respectable man, and that the story which in all its transactions he had told was perfectly true. The medals he had been requested to obtain by his employers; but they were only to be used as trinkets and baubles. He then called Mr. Withers, engraver, of Soho, London, of whom the first dies were obtained, to prove that when he gave the order for the dies, he wished them to be so constructed, that when the medals were struck they might have a handle through which an inch rib-



bon might be put. In consequence of something which passed, the prisoner was advised to have them with merely a hole, through which a ring and chain might be put, and to this he consented.

Mr. Wortley having briefly replied, the jury returned a verdict of NOT GUILTY.

### THE SENECA INDIANS.

(*From the New York Journal of Commerce.*)

REPORT on the memorials of the SENECA INDIANS and others. Accepted Nov. 21, 1840, in the Council of Massachusetts. Boston, Dutton and Wentworth, State Printers, 1840. pp. 28.

THE CASE of the SENECA INDIANS in the State of New York, illustrated by Facts. Printed for the information of the Society of Friends, by direction of the Joint Committee on Indian Affairs, of the four Yearly Meetings of Friends, of Genessee, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. Philadelphia, Meriliew and Thompson, 1840. pp. 254.

To all who can sympathize with the Indians in the afflictions which are consuming them from the face of the earth, these are deeply interesting publications, and the character of the sources from which they emanate must command respectful attention to their contents. Nor can the truth of their statements be questioned; for all the important facts are sustained by authentic documents, given at full length. A brief abstract of their contents seems the more desirable, as the Senecas aver that a powerful influence, exerted over the press in their vicinity, has hitherto prevented them from laying the story of their wrongs fully before the public.

The present number of the Senecas is said to be 2449. They claim four "Reservations" in the State of New York, viz.: the Tonawanda, 13,000 acres, the Buffalo, 35,000 acres, the Cattaraugus, 22,000, and the Alleghany, 31,000; in all about 119,000 acres. Much of this land is among the most fertile and valuable in the States, and the whole is supposed to be worth at least two millions of dollars. At the close of the war of the revolution, Massachusetts claimed an interest in this and other land belonging to the Six Nations. By articles of agreement, dated at Hartford, Dec. 16, 1786, Massachusetts ceded to New York the sovereignty and jurisdiction over those lands, and New York ceded to Massachusetts, its grantees, their heirs and assigns, the right of pre-emption to the lands themselves. It was "provided, however, that no purchase from the native Indians by any such grantee or grantees shall be valid, unless the same shall be made in the presence of, and approved by, a superintendent, to be appointed for such purpose by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and having no interest in such purchase, and unless such purchase shall be confirmed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." This agreement was sanctioned by Congress in 1787.

By an agreement, dated March 12, 1791, the Commonwealth contracted to sell its pre-emptive right to Samuel Ogden, his heirs and assigns; and by several transfers, that title has come into the hands of a company, now known as the "Ogden Land Company." Under this title, several purchases have been made of the Indians, and confirmed by the Commonwealth.

The United States had made three treaties with the Six Nations, previous to the negotiations which have given occasion to these publications. The first was a treaty of peace and boundaries, in 1784. The second, in 1789, was little more than a confirmation of the first. The third, which continued to be the rule of intercourse between the parties for more than forty years, was made in 1794. It contained two important provisions,

bearing on the questions which have lately arisen. First, it acknowledged and guaranteed the right of each of the Six Nations to its own Reservations; so that the Six Nations could not, thenceforth, dispose of any of the land of any one tribe of the confederacy against its will. Secondly, while other Indians are restrained from selling their land, except to the United States, this treaty conferred on each of the Six Nations, separately, the right to sell any or all of its land to citizens of the United States, whenever and however they might choose. The Indians agreed never to set up any claim to any other land within the United States. Under these arrangements with the United States and Massachusetts, the Indians frequently sold land to companies and individuals, and conveyed it, not by treaties, but by ordinary deeds of conveyance.

It would seem that the United States had now no further connexion with this business. It was, however, for the interest of the Ogden Land Company, that the United States Government should be involved in some train of measures for removing the New York Indians. For this purpose,—as it was stated by Mr. Sevier, Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, in his speech in the United States Senate, March 17, 1840,—the Company induced two small bands to apply to President Monroe, in 1818, for permission to purchase, with their own means and on their own account, the title of the Menomonies, to certain lands near Green Bay. Mr. Sevier asserts, that evidence of the Company's influence in this movement is on file in the War Department. Mr. Monroe gave his assent. The agents of the “two small bands,” as they assert, purchased the land and paid 12,000 dollars for it, and the bands began to remove. The Menomonies denied the purchase. A controversy arose, and the United States Government was called upon to make peace. The Government made peace in 1832, by purchasing the land of the Menomonies, paying back to the “two small bands” the 12,000 dollars which they professed to have paid for it, and paying 30,000 dollars to the Oneidas, and 5,000 dollars to the St. Regis Indians, as a remuneration to them for purchasing and removing to the Green Bay lands, under Mr. Monroe's permission.

This treaty of 1832 was made with the Menomonies; and neither the Senecas, nor any other Indians residing in New York, were present, or had anything to do in making it. Yet by this treaty the United States purchased for 20,000 dollars of the Menomonies, 500,000 acres of land, as a home for all the New York Indians; and it was stipulated that the New York Indians should remove to it within three years, or their right to it should be forfeit, and revert to the United States. This, it was hoped, would induce them to sell their Reservations in New York to the Ogden Company on easy terms. The Senecas, however, paid no attention to the treaty. They were satisfied with their old homes, and cared nothing for the forfeiture of lands which they had not purchased and did not want. In the hope that they might be brought to change their minds, a supplementary article was procured, by which the time for their removal was left to the discretion of the President.

So matters remained till 1837. About this time certain new agents appeared, acting for the Land Company. It does not appear from documents before us, but has been currently reported at and around Buffalo, and is understood to be acknowledged by the gentlemen themselves, that five men agreed to obtain a treaty for the removal of the Senecas within a specified time, for which some of them were to receive 25,000 dollars each, and some of them 20,000 dollars and certain profitable agencies. These agents took hold of their work in good earnest. Mr. Sevier, in his speech already quoted, read a contract between one of these agents, on behalf of the Ogden Land Company, and a Seneca chief, in which the said chief agreed to “use his best exertions and endeavours” to procure such a treaty as the Company desired, by “the active application of his whole

influence at councils, and in confidential interviews," and in such other ways as he should be advised; for which, and for his "improvements," he was to receive two thousand dollars within three months after the ratification of the treaty, and a lease, at a nominal rent, during occupancy, of the farm on which he lived. By the treaty, if made, he would of course be paid for his "improvements" a second time. Mr. Sevier read another contract, by which the same agent agreed to pay another chief, for similar service, five thousand dollars. How many such contracts were made, is not known. Mr. Sevier mentioned six others. By these eight, the Company were bound to pay 21,600 dollars to eight chiefs for such services as have been described, besides leases for years, or for life, or grants in fee simple, of the lands they then occupied. By this arrangement, he remarked, "the emigrating party were to stay at home upon their leases, and the non-emigrating party were to be transported beyond the Mississippi."

To accomplish the object, the intervention of the United States was necessary, and was obtained. A Commissioner was appointed to purchase of the Senecas their right in the Green Bay lands, which they always had refused to accept as a gift. A council was called. Two instruments were laid before the council. One was a treaty, by which the United States were to give 1,800,000 acres of land, west of the State of Missouri, and 400,000 dollars in cash, for the Green Bay lands. The other was a deed conveying the Seneca Reservations in New York to the Ogden Land Company, for 202,000 dollars, the receipt of which was acknowledged,—though the treaty provides that it "shall be paid" to the United States, to be used as stipulated for the benefit of the Senecas,—and though the Senecas have never yet received any part, either of the principal or income. To this treaty forty-five signatures, purporting to be those of chiefs or head men, were obtained. The effect of these bargains would be, that the United States would remove the Senecas at an expense of 1,800,000 acres of land, and 400,000 dollars in cash; and the Ogden Land Company would purchase 2,000,000 dollars worth of land for 202,000 dollars.

The party among the Senecas who were opposed to emigration, asserted that this treaty had been obtained by fraud and corruption; but they do not seem to have had, at that time, the means of proving their assertion. The contracts referred to by Mr. Sevier, had not then come to light. The sale was approved by the government of the Massachusetts; but the United States Senate found its provision so enormously liberal that they refused to ratify it. They amended it, so as to make it almost a new treaty; either wholly annulling, or commuting for others which the Senecas might think less valuable, six important inducements to sell their lands and remove. They sent the amended treaty back to the Senecas, with a resolution, that it "shall have no force or effect whatever, nor shall it be understood that the Senate have assented to any of the contracts connected with it," till it should have been explained by the United States Commissioners in open council, and received the assent of a majority of the chiefs. This provision was added, to prevent such frauds in obtaining signatures as the Senecas had complained of.

The Commissioner returned, called a council, explained the amended treaty, and urged the Senecas to assent to it. Among other things, he told them that the head of the Indian Bureau at Washington thought the sale to the Land Company valid, whether the treaty was ratified or not; so that they must assent to it, or be left without a home. Gen. Dearborn, who attended as Superintendent on the part of Massachusetts, told them that the Governor of Massachusetts thought otherwise,—that if the treaty was not ratified, the contract was void. The Commissioner called for signatures. One of the chiefs proposed, that those opposed to the treaty

should sign a remonstrance; but the Commissioner refused to authenticate it. One was drawn up, and authenticated by Gen. Dearborn. The treaty was signed by sixteen chiefs, and the remonstrance by sixty-three. The Commissioner then invited the chiefs to sign the treaty singly and secretly, at his private lodgings, in a tavern at Buffalo. Runners were sent out, chiefs were brought in, paid various sums of money for their signatures, made drunk and induced to sign, or their assent was procured at their own houses. In various ways, fifteen more signatures were produced, making thirty-one in all. The treaty was sent to Washington, and five more sent after it; but they were rejected by the Department of War. The Commissioner continued his labours, and obtained ten more signatures, including three who had been made chiefs illegally, for the purpose of signing the treaty, and making forty-one in all. The whole number of undisputed chiefs is seventy-five. Of these twenty-nine appear to have signed the amended treaty. The whole number who are claimed to be chiefs by both parties, is ninety-seven, of whom forty-one appear as signers. Six of those whose names are attached to it, solemnly swear that they never signed it, knowing what they did, nor in any way authorized others to sign it on their behalf. The "Friends" in one of the works mentioned at the head of this article, give at full length the "bribery contracts," as they call them, and one affidavit, testifying that twenty-five dollars was offered to a certain Seneca, if he would forge the name of a chief to the power of attorney for signing the treaty, and then swear that the signature was genuine.

The treaty went again to the Senate, who advised the President to make proclamation of it and carry it into effect, whenever he should be satisfied that it had received the assent of the Senecas, according to the true intent and meaning of the Senate's former resolution. In August, 1839, the Secretary of War and General Dearborn met the Senecas in council. Of the result, the President says: "No advance towards obtaining the assent of the Senecas to the amended treaty, in council, was made, nor can a majority of them in council now be obtained." And again: "That improper means have been employed to obtain the assent of the Seneca chiefs, there is every reason to believe." It was referred, in the Senate, to the committee on Indian affairs, who reported a resolution for rejecting it. The Senate, however, March 25, 1840, passed a contrary resolution, it is said, by the casting vote of its presiding officer; and the President, April 4, proclaimed it, as a part of the law of the land. The ratification of a treaty requires the assent of two-thirds of the Senators present. Whether this vote was a ratification, and therefore void for want of the constitutional majority, is a disputed question.

The Senecas then applied to the government of Massachusetts, as their ancient protector; and the "Friends" of the four "Yearly Meetings" sent on their memorial. The papers were referred by the Governor and Council, to a Committee, of which John R. Adam, Esq., was Chairman. The Report was accepted by the Council and approved by the Governor, November 21, 1840. It is brief, but able. It concludes that the assent of the Commonwealth to the sale of Reservations, though made in ignorance of important facts, which if known, would have prevented it, cannot be retracted. It sets forth several strong arguments against the validity of that sale; but these only raise a "legal question—a question of title to the lands which must be determined by a judicial tribunal, and cannot be determined by the Executive Department of Massachusetts." "Considering the nature of the objections to the Ogden Company's title, we think the character of that Company, and of those who conduct its affairs as well as the interest of both parties, require that those objections should be fairly met and judicially settled without delay. Until that shall be done, the Senecas will probably remain at their old homes,—and



the Ogden Company may not find it easy to sell them, or any part of them, to any prudent purchaser."

Such is the present situation of this affair. Those who wish to examine in detail the long and sickening series of astounding frauds by which it has been brought into this situation, may consult the publication from which this abstract has been made.

## DOCUMENTS IN DEFENCE OF THE ABORIGINES OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

BY ROBERT M. LYON.

*Copy of a Paper entitled "Reply to an Attack in the Gazette" (Perth, Western Australia), on the publication of a "Glance at the manners and language of the Aboriginal Inhabitants."*

*To the Editor of the Gazette:*

SIR,—Those who are inimical to the moral and religious improvement of the native tribes, have opened their first line of batteries upon me; but the cause they espouse does not seem to inspire them with confidence; for they work their guns masked. Their fire too is so feeble that it would not be worth returning, were it not for the reflection, that the best of causes undefended, may suffer in the minds of an unthinking people. In the estimation of the multitude, silence is defeat.

Your anonymous correspondent conceives, that the way to obtain a correct view of the character of the Aboriginal inhabitants, is to pass by all that is to be admired in their disposition, all that is commendable in their conduct, and to fix our attention upon their vices only. What would the settlers say? what would the world think, were he to refer to the calendar of Newgate for the real character of the British people?

Was your correspondent ever in the field of battle,—at the storming of a fortress, or the sacking of a town? If not, I can tell him, that, in such scenes, he would have heard things that would have made his ears tingle, and seen sights that would have made his hair stand on end. But are we to take the character of the Christian nations of Europe from the acts of an infuriated soldiery, in the heat of a military contest? Your correspondent seems to forget that we have invaded the country—that we are at war with its original owners, and that we have never known them in any capacity but that of enemies.

But he complains of their mode of warfare, and of the duplicity of their conduct. Did he never hear of the stratagems of war? a branch of military tactics justified by all warriors, ancient and modern, and practised by nations calling themselves Christians! nations the most humane, polished and refined in their manners! I am afraid, had he been a Dane, and had he lived in former times, he would have complained bitterly of the ferocity of the British, and of the "cunning" of Alfred—a king who is justly and universally esteemed a pattern of every virtue, an example to kings, and a model to Christians.

The mawkish sensibility which certain persons display in their complaints of the manner in which the aboriginal inhabitants carry on their war against us, in the defence of their country, and all that is dear to them, is perfectly amusing. Would it not form a subject of merriment to the by-standers, to hear the robber, or the midnight assassin, bitterly complaining of the unfairness of the manner in which a man had defended his property, his life, and the lives of his family? Whether he had used a spear or a gun,—whether he had acted upon common modes of defence, or adopted unusual ones, when his premises were attacked, could not for a moment form a question in a court of justice, unless the judge, and the jury too, were insane.

The mode of warfare adopted by a people in defence of their country, may not always be commendable in the estimation of the invading foe ; but every nation, when it has a just cause, has a right to make war after its own manner. What can be more dishonourable—more perfidious, than the cunning and cruelty which invariably characterize the Guerilla mode of warfare ; and yet the Guerilla war, by which Spain attempted to repel the invader of her throne and the destroyer of her independence, was lauded from one extremity of Europe to the other. Nations professing to be ruled by the benign influence of Christianity, instead of quarrelling with savages for obeying the patriotic instincts of our common nature, ought to endeavour to elevate them in the scale of society, by setting them an example worthy of their imitation.

I allow not, however, in the sense of your correspondent, that the natives may be guilty of theft, and its concomitant views,—that thieving is a vice common to savages. A people who know not what *private* property means, and who have not been accustomed to the restraints of laws by which civil life is governed, are, in matters of this kind, like children.

To take whatever they see or fancy, is as natural to them as to put forth their hands and take the things which nature spontaneously produces for their use in the forest ; and to take their lives for so doing, without any attempt whatever to instruct them in the moral impropriety of the act, is just about as rational a mode of proceeding as it would be to put children to death for fancying any thing they see in a shop or a friend's house, before they come to years of understanding. The Chinese, a civilized people, not only know what the term private property means, but are accustomed to laws made for its protection from their infancy ; and yet I question whether thieving be not more common in China than in New Holland.

But are nations who have been baptized and assumed the Christian name entirely free from this vice ? If so, what are we to understand by locks and keys, bolts and bars, watches and watch-dogs, and the multitudes of police, maintained at a vast expense throughout Europe, for the protection of private property ? To look nearer home, what are we to understand by the jails of Perth and Freemantle ? Were these buildings erected for black or for white thieves ? yet the one people have had, what the other have not had, the advantages of being born and educated in a country where distinctions of property obtain.

A moment's reflection may satisfy the most prejudiced, that covetousness, the root of this vice, thrives in civilized society, wherever the mind is not under the power of divine influence, as well as among the savages of the forest. But I trust the day is not far distant, when that Christianity which contains the only antidote to the vices of fallen man will bear the same testimony to its converts in Australia, that it once did to its converts from among the thieves of classical Greece : “ And such were some of you, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified,” &c.

Your correspondent is far from being happy in the choice of his figures, for illustration on the subject of martial courage. Did he never see a coat-of-arms ? if not, let him, should he ever return to England, go to the Herald's Office, and he will find that most of the representations of virtue and courage there displayed by the great and noble, are taken from the various orders of the brute creation, such as lions, tigers, bears, wolves, foxes, and dogs : he could not, therefore, pay a higher compliment to the martial courage of the native warriors than thus, unwittingly, to rank them with the nobility of his mother country. — Nor is he more fortunate in the selection of his facts. If a native at Woodman's Point had the boldness, single handed, to make a stand against a whole party of British officers, it was no very contemptible exhibition of martial courage ; and if we reflect, that they were invaders of his country, and that his wife and children were supposed to be in the valley behind him, the act displayed a concentration of virtues of no common order.

Your correspondent insinuates, that I am without premises to support my conclusions. If an artist delineate an object—say the person and costume of one of another nation—and the original be every day before the public, or persons of known probity, it is considered superfluous to enter into all the minutæ of detail, to prove the resemblance.

This would be exceeding the simplicity of the artist, who, lest the public should not be acquainted with the animal which he had attempted to represent, thought it necessary to write under his picture, "This is a horse." Many of the facts on which my statements rest are so notorious, that it is only waste of time to detail them. But since the aim of your correspondent is evidently to impose upon those who are far from Swan River, I will relate a few.

I was one of the first that penetrated into the interior. Having left my servants on the coast, I was quite alone, when I lost my way in the forest, on the right bank of the river, about half way from the coast to the mountains. To add to the comfort of my reflections, I was totally unarmed—arms, in fact, I never carry—and walked on, till I found myself all at once in the midst of a native encampment, and the spear of the chief of Mooro pointed at my breast. His tribe stood behind him, his arm was raised, and the spear, poised and ready to heave, was quivering in his hand. I was wholly in his power, but not a hair of my head was touched: he recognized the token of peace,\* dropped his spear, and immediately conveyed me in the kindest manner out of the forest.

Shortly after, when the town of Perth was forming, a party of natives came to my fire by the river side, to share their fish with me. Nor is this a solitary instance. Gentlemen who have been benighted in the bush,—the sailors of *H. M. S. Success*, when cutting timber, and many others, can bear testimony to the good faith and hospitality of the native tribes, when visited peaceably, at their own encampments.

I once saw a party of them throw down their spears, rush to the bank of the river, seize two men who had fallen into it, and haul them out; the countenances of the whole party indicating, when the danger seemed imminent, the deepest concern, and afterwards the liveliest joy, evidently under the impression that they had saved their lives. As your correspondent seems to be one of those ignorant sceptics whose narrow intellect will not allow them to believe anything that occurs beyond the limited circle in which they move, he may see the two men, Henry Bourne and Richard Thacker, both of whom are now in Perth, and learn the tale from their own lips.

Though my name was mixed up with the affair of Carnac, in a way that was calculated to fill their minds with suspicion respecting my friendly intentions towards them, and made it, at first, doubtful to the native prisoners, whether I was not the very author of all the ills of their short captivity, yet, immediately after their escape to the continent, I visited them in the forest, as usual, unarmed and alone, at a time when the whole settlement was in the utmost dread of retaliation, and was received by them in the most friendly manner. On this occasion, Yellow-Gongo presented me with a spear and a womera, as a token of gratitude for the kindness I had shown to Dormera and Ningina during their imprisonment.

This generous noble-minded chief went in search of the stock belonging to Mr. Butler, when lost, and brought them home. Ngander, his son-in-law, has been known to beat his dogs when attempting to attack the stock in the bush. On one occasion, he found a young kid in the forest, took it up in his arms, and brought it to Fresh Water Bay. This was the

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\* The "token of peace." The uplifting of both hands.

act of a savage wandering through the desert in search of food, to satisfy the cravings of hunger.

The tribe of Bangoula, on the Murray, is generally allowed to be exceedingly fierce; such, nevertheless, is the respect they have contracted for Mr. Hall, that his premises and property are as safe in his absence as when he is present. They neither enter the one, nor touch the other. Permit me to ask, would Mr. Hall's premises and property be equally safe in his absence, without a watch, in either of the towns of Perth or Freemantle? Nor is this all. His person and property are not only safe, though continually in their power; but, when he leaves his children in the midst of them, and entirely at their mercy, being cut off from the rest of the settlement by a dreary forest of thirty miles behind, and a broad, deep, impassable river in front when he leaves his children thus exposed, as he is often obliged to do, for days together, without food, these people, when they discover it, instead of murdering them, though they have suffered so much from the fowling-pieces of worthless persons among the settlers, invariably procure food for them: yet this is considered the most savage and hostile of all the tribes, with whom we have yet come in contact.\*

Dorrmera, one of those who were with me at Carnac,† has since been the bearer of letters to and from me: he has also carried letters to and from Dalkeith to Perth, and is considered a safe and trusty messenger. Not long since he procured a family a hearty meal of fish, when he found they had nothing to eat; and on a more recent occasion, he recovered and brought home a whole flock of sheep, belonging to Mr. Charles Smith, which had gone astray, and been lost in the bush. So far is this generous young chief from indulging feelings of revenge towards a people who, though they could charge him with no crime, took him prisoner, and deprived him of the use of one of his eyes, when peaceably fishing on the confines of his own district!

A soldier belonging to the sixty-third regiment having separated from his party, lost himself in the bush, about thirty miles from King George's Sound. After wandering for two days, he was found by the natives dying through fatigue and hunger. They immediately made a cake for him, of the farinaceous roots of the Booru, a plant which for a season forms their principal food. But, finding that he could not eat it on account of the compound with which it was mixed, they killed bandycoots and birds, and brought them to him, that he might dress them after his own manner: and, having thus saved his life, they conveyed him to his quarters at Albany. There the stock of the settlers are for days together in the bush, while the natives are daily passing and repassing them on the chase, and, when desired, they will bring them home, for the purpose of being milked,

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\* It was this tribe that was attacked by Sir J. Stirling and others, while peaceably reposing at Pinjarra; because several persons had been destroyed by them in retaliation, and the people of which were shot, to a great number, not only when on the spur of moment they opposed the merciless invaders, who attacked them (as appears by their own account) by surprise, when no open war had been proclaimed; but like a murderous banditti of robbers, when the affrighted people fled: and even when they hid themselves among roots in the river, with only their faces out, they were, say their destroyers, "picked out" and shot! and, moreover, it appears, by the Perth Gazette, that only about ten months before, these very people had invited the white inhabitants of the colony to go and settle among them, and had pointed out rich grassy places where they might feed their cattle!

† R. M. Lyon begged the clemency of the government to some of the captive blacks; and for the purpose of acquiring their language, went with them to the islet of Carnac, where they were detained, and from whence they escaped.



or put into the yoke ; and in like manner, when desired, will take them out again. Shall I name the well known case of Captain Bannister, who, after he had nearly accomplished his bold and arduous journey across an unexplored country, from the Swan to King George's Sound, was on the point of perishing, with all his party, when found by these kind hearted people, and brought to Albany.

These are only a few instances out of many that might be named. All this time too, be it remembered, we have been at war with these people ! Though the nations of Europe profess to be under the benign influence of the Christian religion, I question if the annals of European warfare could furnish so many instances of disinterested kindness, on the part of the belligerent powers towards each other. Certain I am, that nothing of the kind was ever witnessed either in the lines of Terres Vedras, or on the banks of the Bielassoa.

On the ground of humanity, their white brethren would do honour to themselves by following their example. At an interview held with them at Woburn Park, at which I was present, Mr. Bull was about to shoot a bird, in order to make them a present, but, notwithstanding their continual want of food, having neither barn nor storehouse, and the interest they always take in witnessing the effect of fire arms, they requested him, in this instance, to forbear, pointing out to him, that the bird he was about to kill had young ones.

Need I say more ? I speak from my own knowledge and observation, when I add, that the aboriginal inhabitants, after showing us every kindness in their power,—after exercising a forbearance the most exemplary, have been goaded into hostilities by the treatment they have received from the soldiers, the indentured servants, and a few individuals amongst us who pass for gentlemen. They may be found hereafter to have some of the vices common to men—to savages ; and it would be strange if they had not ! But all the severities they have hitherto dealt out to us, are merely acts of retaliation or retributive justice, to which they have been driven by the cruelties we have practised upon them.

On the subject of martial courage, I question if more striking instances could be produced in the history of any people, than those exhibited by Yagen, while at Carnac ; and a few days ago, when brandishing his spear in the presence of several settlers, he warned Mr. Watson of the consequences of again threatening to shoot him. The affair to which I allude occurred at noon day, in the very streets of the capital of the settlement. This is not very like “the secret assassin.” Let assassinating Italy, the favourite resort of the fashionables of Europe, blush at the recital. But why go further into particulars ? I have seen them in almost all the common walks of life. I have met them accidentally in the bush. I have met them by appointment. I have walked and conversed with them. I have eaten, I have drunk, and I have slept with them. I have performed the meanest offices for them when sick. I have taken the spear from them when quivering with rage. They have bathed my neck with tears of gratitude and confidence. And, after all this, am I to be told that I have no premises on which to ground my conclusions, and form an estimate of character ?

Oh, that some who could think, reflect, and reason like men, like Christians, were but to see the children of these savages—these interesting little sable prattlers, when they group around me in the forest—when they come running to meet me, some laying hold of my hands, some hanging on the skirts of my coat, and others running before, to announce my arrival at the encampment ! Who could avoid calling to mind the scene in Galilee, or resist the conviction, that the Saviour of men had these also in his eye, when he said, “Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God” ? The con-

clusion of the preaeher when speaking of the negro, though quaintly expressed, would be irresistible; "That the savage of New Holland is also God's image like ourselves, though carved in bronze." But how thoroughly must the divine likeness be effaced in us, when we are unwilling to see it restored in our sable brethren!

My vocabulary is before the public, and will speak for itself.\* I was annoyed at hearing it continually asserted that the language of this people was an unintelligible jargon. I have proved that it is not; and that to obtain a knowledge of it is far from being impracticable. It is an interesting language—one that will repay the labour of acquisition to both the Christian and the man of letters.

The only room for doubt, and this I have repeatedly remarked, is in a few, and but a few, of the geographical descriptions. When they trace a figure on the ground, they give me no scale to enable me to determine the distance and magnitude; consequently, I have no means of coming at the intended proportion of the miniature to the original. That such places are to be found, either within, or beyond the present limits of the colony, there can be no doubt. Their real situations, distances, and magnitudes, however, can only be determined by actual observation of exploring parties.

The insinuations of this anonymous scribbler I disregard. But I must solicit the printing of my letter authorizing the publication. It is my only shield against unjust comment and capricious criticism.

My character (which I perceive my enemies would fain traduce), my slender means, my endeavours to prevent a war of extermination, which must have resulted from the adoption of sanguinary measures, and all the difficulties I have had to contend with in paving the way for the heralds of salvation to these unfortunate savages, I leave to the missionary and the future historian. Let them return the verdict. In their hands, I am not afraid of my reputation. But honour and dishonour, evil report and good report, often fall to the lot of the Christian, and to him they are all alike.

The language of Derbal,† difficult as it is, is, to a certain extent, laid open; the manners and moral condition of its inhabitants unveiled, a foundation is laid for the propagation of Christianity on the Australian continent; and whether I live to see it or not—whether I be present, far distant, or under the turf, the superstructure will rise, and I rejoice in the anticipation. Hell may stir itself, and men may oppose; but neither the malice of the one, nor the rage of the other, shall prevent the happy consummation. Another continent will, ere long, be added to the empire of heaven: angels will celebrate the event in hymns of triumph, and Christian nations will hail the event with joy.

Spring Mount, *April*, 1833.

Note. The Editor of the Gazette refused to publish the foregoing.

## COPY OF AN ADDRESS TO THE SETTLERS IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA, DELIVERED AT GUIL- FORD, JUNE 7th, 1833.

BY ROBERT M. LYON.

*At a meeting of the Magistrates, Gentlemen, and Yeomen of the Colony, convened on an occasion of great excitement, when the Aboriginal inhabitants were threatened with a war of extermination.*

GENTLEMEN:—Again the shout of war is raised,—again our ears are

\* "The glance at Manners and Language," which, with the vocabulary, were published in the Perth Gazette.

† The Swan River county, native name.

assailed by the din of hostile movements throughout the settlement ; and the blood of the natives, wantonly shed, rouses them to vengeance implacable and terrible.

Most of you have hitherto acted with a forbearance, which, though politic in itself, was not the less honourable to your own feelings.

I quite agree with you, too, on another point ; that half, or rather opposite measures, such as the government have hitherto pursued, are to be deprecated. A wavering, uncertain policy is the worst that can be adopted towards a strange people, whether savage or civilized. But before ye suffer yourselves to be hurried away by the fury which seems now to possess the minds of so many, permit me for a moment, as the friend of this unfortunate race, to remonstrate with you.

Are the aboriginal inhabitants British subjects, or are they not ? I pass by the awkward question, Whether ye have any right to treat them as such, without their own consent. If they are, they are entitled to the protection of the British government, and, consequently, when accused of wrong, have a right to be tried by the laws of the country, which has proclaimed them members of its commonwealth. If they cannot avail themselves of the privileges thus conferred on them, because they know not the language of their dictators, the fault is yours. Can they acquire the language of a strange people intuitively ? and if they cannot, are they then to be shot, merely because they cannot speak English ? If ye usurp the dominion over them, and deprive them of their independence, it is but a small part of your duty to inform them of the reverse of fortune which has befallen them, and the laws by which they are to be governed. Ye have taken possession of their lands, and, after having thus robbed them of their patrimonial inheritance, ye mock them with the title of British subjects : but, unless ye also possess yourselves of their language, the proper and only rational medium of communicating with any people, ye may as well call the kangaroos of their forests British subjects, as the native tribes. Without a knowledge of their language it will be as easy to govern the one as the other.

To your own people, when charged with the commission of crime, ye allow the benefit of trial by jury. They have a thousand times more reason to claim the privilege, since they are utterly ignorant of the moral character of the act of which they are accused, or the guilt attached to it in your estimation. And if they are to have what the privilege implies—trial by their peers, the jury should be selected from their own countrymen. If ye would allow them any show of justice, one half at least, ought to be Derbalese. When ye are asked by whom ye will be tried, ye reply, by God and my country. Alas, for the Derbalese ! they are tried by neither. They are left to the mercy of any ruffian who chooses to level his gun at them. What is this ? It is murder. To kill British subjects without trial by judge or jury can be designated by no other term. But if ye have taken their country from them, and they refuse to acknowledge your title to it, ye are at war with them : and, having never allowed your right to call them British subjects, they are justified by the usages of war in taking your property wherever they find it, and in killing you whenever they have an opportunity. Ye are the aggressors. The law of nations will bear them out in repelling force by force. They did not go to the British Isles to make war upon you. But ye came from the British Isles to make war upon them. Ye are the invaders of their country : ye are the plunderers of their wealth ; ye destroy the natural productions of the soil on which they live ; ye devour their fish and their game ; and ye drive them from the abodes of their ancestors.

Tell me not of the absence of local attachment in the hearts of roving savages. Where is the record from which ye learned that nature was ever unfaithful to the law of her creation, and forgot to impress her off-

spring with regard for the spot where they first inhaled the breath of life? The monster that disregards the land of his nativity never yet beheld the light. The very eagle loves the nest in which it was hatched. In man, whether civilized or savage, the inborn passion is still stronger. The lawns, the woods, the hills and dales, even the rocks and the deserts, attach the soul to the place of her birth, like the enchantments of Elysium. Nor do they quit their hold on her affections with the increase of years. On the contrary, the natal fire burns brighter as the shades of evening advance, and old age, rolling on with its grey hairs, feeds the flame, and makes her cling closer to objects consecrated by time, and endeared by a thousand recollections. Ye may vent your fury upon her, —ye may break her heart; but ye cannot turn the current of her feelings. She cannot turn them herself. Nothing can either force or allure her from the scenes of her childhood,—nothing can dissolve her attachment to her natal soil but death. It came from the dust with her; and she can resign it only when her earthly tabernacle dissolves, and again mingles with its original element. Nor is it the character of the place that forms the inextinguishable regard. Like every other part of our constitution, it derives its origin from the author of our being. It is a fire kindled in us by the breath of nature, the moment the soil springs into existence. It is nourished by association; it grows with our growth; it ripens with our age, and becomes stronger and stronger, the more it converses with surrounding objects. The highland cottager sees as many charms in the barren heath, the silent pine, the solitary glen, the wild crag, and the stupendous rock, as the royal tenant beholds in the peopled terrace, the galaxy of beauty, the monuments of art, and the towers of Windsor. Were it possible for them to change places in the womb, they would reciprocally exchange their predilections. The descendant of a royal line would discover an attachment to the lonely cottage, and would as enthusiastically admire the bleak uncultivated waste around; while the highlander, English born, would chill at the sight of north, and kindle into rapture amidst the gorgeous scenery of the royal residence. It is kindly ordered. In the love of country, we may still trace, amidst the ruins of our fallen nature, and in characters sufficiently legible, the impress of divine wisdom and benevolence in our creation. The soul is so formed as to love above all others (whatever may be their character) those objects on which she opens her eyes on coming into life; and is thus constitutionally prepared for the enjoyment of an allotted portion of happiness, wheresoever, in the unerring arrangements of Divine Providence, she may first behold the light, whether amidst the cheerless snows of the polar regions, or the perennial bloom of the tropical.

Think not then that the aboriginal inhabitants of Australia,—offspring of the same great parent with yourselves, and partakers of all the kindred feelings of a common humanity, can resign the mountains and the seas, the rivers and the lakes, the plains and the wilds of their uncradled infancy, and the habitations of their fathers for generations immemorial, to a foreign foe, without the bitterness of grief. What though the grass be their couch, and the tree of the forest their only shelter: their blue mountains, and the country where they first beheld the sun, the moon, and the starry heavens, are as dear to them as your native land with all its natural and artificial beauties, its gilded spires and magnificent palaces, is to you.

If ye are determined to disregard every other principle of justice, and have resolved to consider the king's proclamation a sufficient title to their lands, I beseech you to bear in mind, that ye are forbidden alike by the maxims of Christianity and the law of nations to slay them, unless it be in self-defence, in the field, the guilt of which will still fall on your heads as the aggressors. And in the field (for they will have recourse to arms



in their own defence; and what nation would not?) ye are still bound by the usages of war—by every principle of honour and humanity, to spare their lives when they surrender and call for mercy. In short, whether ye reckon them enemies or British subjects, ye have no right to hunt them down and kill them, as if they were so many wild beasts. This is contrary to all law human and divine.

Reflect, that ye have to do with a people who are not less the antipodes of the British Isles in their manners, laws, and polity, than in their geographical position. The laws and polity of Britain contemplate all property as private property, and protect it in this character, restricting each individual to the enjoyment of his own particular portion. The laws and polity of New Holland are just the reverse. They contemplate all property as public property, and guard it as such, allowing the free unrestricted use of the whole to every person in the community.

Ngyrnon of Monkbeelven will tell you, that he has killed a man for no other reason than that of attempting to introduce the law of private property; namely, for appropriating a kangaroo to himself, and refusing to share it with his fellows.

In a country where the law of private property is unknown, there can be no thieves. Of the meaning of the word theft, in the sense in which ye the use term, these people have not the least conception. How can they? Theft can be practised only among a people who have private property. The commission of it in a country where everything is held in common is morally impossible.

The spear of the warrior is perhaps the only exception. Other private property they have none. And the possession of this is an object, only when actually engaged in battle. On all other occasions it is carried about as the common property of the tribe.

The word *quipple* means properly to pillage, or to spoil an enemy: a practice as common to the nations of Europe as to the savages of Australia. But to *quipple* from a brother, or one of the same tribe, to all of whom they extend the appellation, would excite their astonishment. What may come to pass, should they ever be introduced to a state of society in which the law of private property prevails, and be initiated into the heart of stealing by your own thieves, I am not prepared to say. But, at present, the vice of thieving is certainly unknown among them; though, like the Christian tribes of another hemisphere, they consider it lawful to spoil an enemy.

I am aware of the objection that, when they quipple or pillage, they use a great deal of cunning. So does the sportsman in pursuit of his game; and so does a general at the head of an army; but in neither instance is there any sense of guilt or of moral delinquency. Just so with these people. They may fear the defeat of their purpose, or the consequences of being surprised in the act, but they have no apprehension that they are doing wrong. How can they till ye instruct them in your manners, laws, and customs? They have actually pointed out to you where their kangaroos were to be found, when ye wished to kill. Is it to be wondered at, if, with equal simplicity, they should help themselves to one of yours when they find them grazing on their own domains? \*

It is not my intention, nor can it be necessary, in an assembly who have been not only eye witnesses, but more, or less actors in the tragic scene from its opening, to enter into a history of all the evils which our invasion of the country has inflicted upon them; but I will mention a circumstance which is not generally known. Soon after the formation of

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\* European stock of all descriptions they call kangaroos, having never before seen sheep, cattle, or horses.

the settlement, some servants in a farming establishment [Colonel La-tour's] on the Swan, finding that they [the natives] were fond of anointing themselves with oil, poured on the back of one of these unfortunate beings a whole pot full of boiling slush [that is, fat skimmed from boiling meat]. This was a personal injury. It was a national insult. And the cruel deed, independently of all other wrongs [many and grievous which they have suffered at our hands], was enough to rouse any people, and to render them implacable.

But what shall we say to the barbarous practice of firing upon them wherever they are seen,—a practice unconfined to the lower orders, and common to some from whom better things might be expected! Apart from the fiend-like wickedness of thus wantonly destroying human life, what will such a course of proceeding profit you in the end? They have actually tendered their services to you as hewers of wood and drawers of water, and the very powder and ball ye expend in shooting them would purchase their lands.

It was the policy of the late ruler of France to make every war in which he engaged maintain itself; which answered the double purpose of saving him expense, and gratifying his ambition by laying the foundation of future wars: for the quarrels thus produced, and the feelings excited, could terminate only in thirst for revenge. Ye have not merely followed his example: in wanton cruelty ye have gone beyond him. Ye have hitherto lived in a great measure upon the fish and the game of the country, while the aboriginal inhabitants are fired at if they dare to approach either, though famishing with hunger. But, as I have already remarked, I conceive it unnecessary to reckon in detail the numberless provocations they have received at your hands. They are numerous and well-known. I would merely ask, what did ye when ye arrived on these shores? Ye seized their fishing stations, ye took possession of their hunting grounds, ye drove them from the scenes of their childhood, and ploughed up the graves of their fathers. Yet all these ills they bore with a patience unparalleled in the history of nations. In not a single instance did they throw a spear, or attempt to shed blood, till they began to fall under the fire of the merciless invader. Even in the affair of Bull's Creek, which has kindled such a flame, they were not the aggressors: they were only exercising the law of retaliation—a law as ancient as the records of history, and sanctioned by divine authority. The son of Midgegoorong and the brother of Yagou, the principals in this affair, were killed that very morning at Freemantle. What father is there among you, if the laws of his country permitted it, that would not revenge the death of his son? What brother, that would not avenge the death of a brother?

Man in a state of nature may be ignorant of the manners of civil life; but he has as keen a sense of right and wrong as the most polished of his kind. Talk to the savages of Australia about the jurisprudence of civilized nations, and legal means for the redress of wrongs and injuries; about laying their complaints before a magistrate of whose language they are ignorant, whose authority they do not acknowledge, and whose residence they dare not approach! What do they know about courts of justice, or your laws for the punishment of crime? Among them, as in the patriarchal state, every man is the judge and avenger of his own wrongs. Nor do they deem it presumptuous to carry the principle still higher, and consider themselves, in their collective capacity, as competent as you to judge and avenge their national wrongs. How hard is the fate of this people! They may stand to be slaughtered, but they must not throw a spear in their own defence, or attempt to bring their enemies to a sense of justice by the only means in their power,—that of returnin

like for like. If they do,—if they dare to be guilty of an act which in other nations would be eulogized as the noblest of a patriot's deeds,—they are outlawed, a reward is set upon their heads, and they are ordered to be shot as if they were so many mad dogs! Thus in the most barbarous manner ye practise what in them ye condemn—the law of retaliation.

Let it be borne in mind, that these people have never had any intercourse with the rest of mankind. While Ninus founded the Assyrian empire, and Cyrus gained that of Babylon; while Asia poured her overwhelming millions on Europe, and the valour of Sparta bled at Thermopylæ; while Philip of Macedon strove for the ascendant at Olynthus, and the glowing eloquence of Demosthenes kindled the beacon-fire at Athens; while Alexander pushed his conquests toward the rising, and Cæsar toward the setting sun; while Macedonia trampled on the gorgeous East, and the legions of Italy contended with the phalanxes of Greece for the empire of the globe; while Seythia, Sarmatia, and Scandinavia, rising in their pride of strength, sprang on the Latin eagle, and the dominion of Rome yielded to the fury of the North; while thrones were erected and overthrown in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, and America;—the tribes of Australia, unconscious of the existence of any other continent, were chasing the kangaroo, chanting their poetical compositions by their fires in the forest, and moving as distinctly in a world of their own, as if they had been the inhabitants of another planet. Up to this moment they imagine you to be a swarm of emigrants from the moon.

If, therefore, ye act upon the maxims which guided your intercourse with civilized nations, ye will miss your aim at every step in your policy towards this people. Their government is patriarchal, and their manners are antediluvian. Of conquest they know nothing; because they are strangers to riches and luxury, the great incitements to conquest and empire. But the law of retaliation—blood for blood—is established by the sanction of ages, is familiar to them from infancy, and prevails from one extremity of New Holland to another. It is their mode of punishing offences, whether personal or national; and if it be criminal in them, it must be equally criminal in you to follow their example.

But this is not all. By retaliating, ye yourselves become savages; ye perpetrate the law of retaliation, and entail upon your offspring all the evils consequent upon a system of endless bloodshed. Who, in this case, is to set the example of a nobler conduct? The untutored savages, or a people who consider themselves the most humane and polished of the nations of Europe? Strangers as ye are become, gentlemen, to the sound of the church-going bell, by your residence in these woods, I am not afraid to trust the appeal to your own consciences. If the religion of the land of your fathers yet retain any influence over you, it will require but little reflection in the presence of Him “who divideth to the nations their inheritance,” to decide you in favour of a better policy, and induce you to set the example of peace and goodwill to a people to whom ye are indebted for your adopted country,—a country which you intend to make your domicile, and the inheritance of your children.

Are ye aware that the whole country is divided into districts, and that no tribe can occupy that of another? Consider for a moment the sad condition in which your invasion has placed the tribe of Derbal. Before them is the British banner frowning destruction, and behind them the spear of the neighbouring tribes, threatening them with a contest the most sanguinary. Which are they to choose? A glorious death by rushing on the sword of the invading foes, or a cruel and unnatural war with their own countrymen?

Remember, too, that ye have never attempted to make peace with them. Every cessation of arms has been only a tacit truce—a calm that

preceded a storm. And while ye act upon a wavering uncertain policy, the war will assume a more sanguinary character on every recurrence of hostilities till it become interminable; and staining your title deeds with blood, involve the destruction of one of the most interesting races of aboriginal inhabitants now to be found on the face of the globe.

There are still two courses open for you to pursue; either a decidedly pacific one, or a decidedly hostile. To the adoption of the former I know of no obstacle that may not yet be easily surmounted. They have all along shown themselves ready to be reconciled,—desirous to live in peace and amity with you; and even willing to be taught your manners, laws, and polity. It remains for you to consider the consequences of adopting hostile measures. A bad name to the colony,—a stop to emigration,—and a depreciated property, are but minor evils. An exterminating war must be the consequence; the flames of which will spread with increasing fury among the surrounding tribes, as the settlement extends itself. An exterminating war over a continent as large as Europe, and abounding with tribes unknown and innumerable. The very thought is appalling. The awful drama, the tragical scenes of which, opening and closing successively amidst the cries of the dying and the tears of widows and orphans, and extending its desolations to generations yet unborn, will be without a parallel in the history of the world! Who will take upon himself the responsibility of giving such counsel? Who among you will answer for the frightful consequences, to God and to his country, and to the myriads of the slain, whose blood will clamour through the skies for vengeance in both worlds, upon the guilty head of him that advised, and of him that lighted up the inextinguishable fire?

Taking advantage of your distance from the mother-country, ye may flatter yourselves with the idea, that it is possible either to commit the infamous deed of extermination secretly, or that ye can persuade the world that ye were not the aggressors. Vain thought! These game-plundered and falling forests, which have so often filled their mouths with food, and their hearts with gladness; that moon to whose mild beams they have so often danced in wild and grotesque, but innocent mirth, uncontaminated with either the Bacchanalian fume or the lascivious waltz; those stars which have so often guided them in their trackless path through the lonely desert; yon sun who has so often called them from the unfurnished bower, where mantled by the shades of night, they enjoyed a healthful repose, to the ramble and the chase; the sea, whose roaring billows, revelling in solitary grandeur, have poured shoals of living provision into their rivers; the lakes, whose shaded shores have bred, and whose placid bosoms have borne for them myriads of gambolling fowl; the hills, that have echoed to their song; the vallies that have sheltered them from the howling tempest; the plains over which they have attempted to flee, and on which they have fallen under the fire of the pursuing foe; the very earth, which has received their blood,—all nature, Rachel-like, weeping for her children, will at the last day, with her ten thousand tongues, if permitted to speak, proclaim your guilt amidst assembled worlds. But dream not of concealment till then. Ye may for a time, Cain-like, with fallen countenances, enjoy the blood-stained spoils of an innocent, unoffending people; but ye cannot bury the crime which ye perpetrate in the graves of your victims. The eyes of him who has allotted to every nation the portion of its inheritance, are upon you. The voice of your brother's blood will cry to him from the ground on which it is spilled. The land of your birth will abhor you, and the page of history will brand you to the latest posterity with the guilt of the unparalleled deed.

Choose for yourselves. If ye determine upon a war of extermination, civilized nations will be mute with astonishment at the madness of a policy so uncalled for,—so demoniackal: Spain throughout the wide deso-



lations of her American empire, will groan forth a warning note ;—even the merciless Turk will point the finger of scorn at you ; and Greece and Rome will rise from the tomb to sit in judgment upon you. When your doom is past, your own children, for whose sakes ye have invaded the country, will join with the disinherited offspring of those ye have slain to pour a flood of curses on your memory. If ye have any feelings of compunction, before the die be cast, let the aboriginal inhabitants of Australia live. Ye have taken from them all they had on earth. Be content with this, and do not add to the crime of plundering them, that of taking their lives. Let them live, that they may be put in possession of a title to a heavenly country,—a country where the invading foe dare not enter.

But if ye have steeled your heart against remonstrance,—if, in contempt of the most touching reflections, and reckless of consequences, ye have determined to put on the savage, and to act the part of barbarians, by imbruing your hands in the blood of a people whom ye have spoiled of their country—repudiate the faith into which ye were baptized and renounce the Christian name,—the name from which your native land borrows all its glory ; that Christianity may not blush at your deeds, while she weeps over the miseries ye inflict upon a helpless race.

*Spring Mount, May 2, 1833.*

At the conclusion of this address, the question was put on behalf of the assembled company—Mr. Lyon, what would you have us to do ?

*R. M. Lyon.* Do, my dear sirs, what our blessed Lord and Saviour has commanded.

*Company.* Pray what is that ?

*R. M. Lyon.* “All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.”

A strong impression was produced, and the war of extermination was abandoned.

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The two preceding documents have been communicated to the society by James Backhouse.

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## AN APPEAL ON BEHALF OF THE GRIQUAS, AND OTHER COLOURED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, &c.

THE sympathy of the Society of Friends with the coloured inhabitants of Southern Africa, has already been variously expressed and exhibited, with results of a very gratifying nature. It may be interesting to some, to be informed, that, a few years ago, some Friends at Tottenham furnished the means of establishing an infant school in Cape Town, and thus were instrumental in introducing a useful system of juvenile education, which has been successfully carried out in that place, and in many missionary institutions in the adjacent country ; and has also been transferred from thence, by the benevolence of the inhabitants of Cape Town, to numerous islands in the South Seas. Beyond the usual benefits of this system of education in England, it has become extensively useful in Southern Africa, in introducing the English language among the coloured tribes, by which they are better prepared to obtain an even footing with the colonists than could otherwise have been the case, and have access opened to much useful knowledge.

In 7th month, 1840, a school was opened in Cape Town, under the auspices of a number of Friends, who contributed for the object of affording education to poor children in that place; many of whom were recently released from slavery, and others were the offspring of coloured parents, who had been freed from oppression at an earlier period. In 12th month, 1840, there were about fifty pupils in this school, and the number was progressively increasing; among them were several children of white persons, in circumstances above what the school was designed for; but which it was concluded might be admitted, so long as there was room for them, with the view of diminishing the prejudice still existing extensively against colour.

The premises purchased for this purpose are capable of accommodating upwards of three hundred children; and there remains a debt upon them of about 300*l.*; which, it is hoped, the liberality of Friends will speedily liquidate. A more full report on the state of this school may be expected by the subscribers after the expiration of its current year.

In 1839, a few Friends interested in the promotion of agriculture among the Caffers, placed at the disposal of James Backhouse the sum of 250*l.*—one hundred and fifty of which was appropriated for the completion of a water ditch from the Tyumie River, to irrigate a large plot of land; and the residue was chiefly employed in the purchase of ploughs, spades, &c. By encouraging the Frontier Caffers to extend their agricultural operations, and giving them a more settled interest in the soil, many beneficial results may be anticipated; not only in enabling them to support themselves in greater numbers in situations where education and Christian instruction are communicated, but in giving them stronger motives for preserving peace with their colonial neighbours.

Previously to James Backhouse and Geo. W. Walker leaving South Africa, two large boxes of clothing and other articles suitable for school rewards, provided by some Friends in the north of England, were received and distributed; a portion among the children in Friends' school, Cape Town, and the remainder at fifteen Hottentot Missionary Stations, from several of which, letters expressive of their warm and grateful acknowledgments have been received.

Some of the benefits resulting to the tribes of Southern Africa from the benevolence of Friends being thus briefly stated, another case, which it is hoped may obtain their sympathy and kind assistance, is now to be brought under their notice.

The inhabitants of Griqua Town, who have long been suffering from the gradual subsidence of the formerly copious spring that supplied them with water, and irrigated their gardens, have been compelled, by its total failure, to abandon the place, where several of them had built substantial houses, and resort to the Vaal (Fall) or Yellow River, (which has a permanent flow of water,) as stated in the following letters from one of their missionaries, and from Dr. Philip. These Grikas are of mixed descent, but belong principally to the Hottentot race: they have been long under the care

of the London Missionary Society, and a large proportion of the adults can read the Dutch Scriptures : among them are a considerable number of pious Christian converts ; and they are sufficiently advanced in civilization to pass from a pastoral to an agricultural state, to which their present change of situation, if they be enabled to carry out their plans of irrigation, is favourable.

For this purpose and others of like character, James Backhouse will be glad to receive contributions, either at York, or, through the medium of William Manley, at Friends' Meeting House, No. 86, Houndsditch, London ; and he hopes to be able, in due time, to communicate satisfactory information as to the application of what may be committed to his charge.

In conclusion, J. B. would assure Friends that there is much room in Southern Africa for the application of whatever funds they may be disposed to raise for the purpose, in promoting the civilization and education of the coloured people ; for which purposes, the funds of the various Missionary Societies are applicable only in a very limited degree ; and yet, without the extension of civilization and education, the ground that has been gained by Christian instruction cannot be maintained.

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#### BISHOP BERKLEY'S PROPOSITION FOR CONVERTING THE ABORIGINES OF AMERICA.

1725.

It is acknowledged that the gospel hath hitherto made but a very inconsiderable progress among the Americans, who still continue in much the same ignorance and barbarism in which we found them above one hundred years ago. The clergy sent over to America have proved, too many of them, very meanly qualified, both in learning and morals, for the discharge of the office. And, indeed, little can be expected from the example or instruction of those who quit their native country on no other motive than that they are not able to procure a livelihood in it, which is known to be often the case. Although some of the clergy have approved themselves men of merit, it will at the same time be allowed, that the most zealous and able missionary from England must find himself but ill qualified for converting the American heathen, if we consider the difference of language, the wild way of living, and above all, the great jealousy and prejudice which savage nations have towards foreigners, or innovations introduced by them. These considerations make it evident that a college or seminary in those parts is very much wanted ; and, therefore, the providing such a seminary is earnestly proposed and recommended to all those who have it in their power to contribute to so good a work: By this, two ends would be obtained. 1st. The youth of our English plantations might be themselves fitted for the ministry ; and men of merit would be then glad to fill the churches of the native country, which are now a drain for the very dregs and refuse of ours. 2ndly. The children of savage Americans, brought up in such a seminary, and well instructed in religion and learning, might make the ablest and properest missionaries for spreading the gospel among their countrymen ; who would be less apt to suspect, and readier to embrace, a doctrine recommended by neighbours or relations, men of their own blood and language, than if it were

proposed by foreigners, who would not improbably be thought to have designs on the liberty or property of the converts. It is proposed to admit into the aforesaid college only such savages as are under ten years of age, before evil habits have taken a deep root; and yet not so early as to prevent their retaining their mother tongue, which should be preserved by intercourse among themselves.

To any considering mind, the employing American missionaries for the conversion of America will, of all others, appear the most likely method to succeed; especially if care be taken that during the whole course of their education, an eye should be had to the mission. If His Majesty would graciously please to grant a charter for a college to be erected in a proper place for these uses, it is to be hoped a fund may be soon raised sufficient for building and endowing the same. Many things ought to be considered in the choice of a situation. I think the isles of Bermuda, otherwise called The Summer Islands, would be the fittest spot. The young Americans, educated in an island at some distance from their own country, will more easily be kept under discipline till they have attained a complete education, than on the continent, where they might find opportunities of running away to their countrymen, and returning to their brutal customs, before they were thoroughly imbued with good principles and habits. It must be acknowledged a difficult attempt to plant religion among the Americans, so long as they continue their wild and roving life. He who is obliged to hunt for his daily food will have little curiosity or leisure to receive instruction. It would seem, therefore, the right way to introduce religion and civil life at the same time into that part of the world; either attempt will assist and promote the other. Those, therefore, of the young savages, who upon trial are found less likely to improve by academical studies, may be taught agriculture, or the most necessary trades. And when husbandmen, weavers, carpenters, &c. have planted those useful arts among their savage countrymen, and taught them to live in settled habitations, to canton out their land and till it, to provide vegetable food of all kinds, to preserve flocks and herds of cattle, to make convenient houses, and to clothe themselves decently; this will assist in spreading the gospel among them; this will dispose them to social virtues, and enable them to see and to feel the advantages of a religious and civil education. And that this view of propagating the gospel and civil life among the savage nations of America was a principal motive which induced the crown to send the first English colonies thither, doth appear from the charter granted by King James I. to the adventurers in Virginia.—See Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. b. i. c. 9. And it is now but just (what might then seem charitable) that these poor creatures should receive some advantage with respect to their spiritual interests, from those who have so much improved their temporal by settling among them. The lives of those whose chief employment and delight consists in cruelty and revenge, must be most opposite as well to the light of nature as to the spirit of the gospel. Now, to reclaim these poor wretches, to prevent the many torments and cruel deaths which they daily inflict on each other, to contribute in any sort to put a stop to the numberless horrid crimes which they commit without remorse, and instead thereof to introduce the practice of virtue and piety, must surely be a work in the highest degree becoming every sincere and charitable Christian. £10 a year would (if I mistake not) be sufficient to defray the expense of a young American in the college of Bermuda, as to diet, lodging, clothes, books, and education. And, if so, the interest of £200 may be a perpetual fund for maintaining one missionary at the college for ever; and in this succession, many, it is to be hoped, may become powerful instruments for converting to Christianity and civil life whole nations who now sit in darkness and the shadow of death, and whose cruel, brutal manners are a disgrace to



human nature. A benefactor of this kind seems to enlarge the very being of a man, extending it to distant places and to future times, inasmuch as unseen countries and after ages, may feel the effects of his bounty, while he himself reaps the reward in the blessed society of all those who, having turned many to righteousness, shine as the stars for ever and ever.

P.S. Since the foregoing proposal was first made public, His Majesty hath been graciously pleased to grant a charter for erecting a college, by the name of St. Paul's College, in Bermuda, for the uses above mentioned; which college is to contain a president and nine fellows. The first president appointed by charter is George Berkley, D.D., the Dean of Derry. The three fellows named in the charter are William Thompson, Jonathan Rogers, and James King, Masters of Arts and Fellows of Trinity College, near Dublin. The nomination of president is reserved to the crown. The election of fellows is vested in the president and the majority of the fellows; as is likewise the government of the society. The Lord Bishop of London for the time being is appointed visitor; and such of His Majesty's principal secretaries of state for the time being as hath America in his province is appointed chancellor of the said college. The president and fellows have the power of making statutes, to be approved by the visitor. They have also the power of conferring degrees in all faculties. They are obliged to maintain and educate Indian scholars at the rate of £10 per annum for each. They are obliged to transmit annual accounts of the state of the college, of the number of students, their progress, &c., to the chancellor and visitor. The aforesaid president and fellows are licensed to hold their preferments in these kingdoms till one year and a half be expired after their arrival in Bermuda. This society is incorporated with the usual clauses, hath power to receive benefactions, purchase lands, keep a common seal, &c. Lastly, all in office under his Majesty are required to be aiding and assisting to the protection and preservation thereof.

“It was at the age of forty-five, that the beloved and celebrated Berkley conceived the design of devoting his life to reclaim and convert the natives of North America; and he employed as much influence and solicitation as common men do for their most prized objects, in obtaining leave to resign his dignities and revenues, to quit his accomplished and affectionate friends, and to bury himself in what must have seemed an intellectual desert. After four years' residence at Newport, in Rhode Island, he was compelled, by the refusal of government to furnish him with funds for his college, to forego his work of heroic, or rather godlike benevolence; though not without some consoling forethought of the fortune of the country where he had sojourned.

“Westward the course of empire takes its way,  
The first four acts already past,  
A fifth shall close the drama with the day,  
Time's noblest offspring is its last.”

“Thus disappointed in his ambition of keeping a school for savage children, at a salary of a hundred pounds by the year, he was received, on his return, with open arms by the philosophical queen, at whose metaphysical parties he made one with Sherlock.”—*Sir J. Macintosh.*

## LETTERS FROM FLORIDA.

THE ABORIGINES IN FLORIDA.—Extract of a letter dated Georgia, Jan. 19, 1841: “On or about the 12th inst., while Captain Jernigan, of the Georgia troops, with a small detachment of his company, were scouting between forts Moniac and Taylor, 10 or 15 miles south of the Okefanoke, they discovered a small Indian camp fire on the borders of a swamp, which appeared to have been very recently left by the Indians. On further examination their trail was found leading into the swamp. Captain Jernigan, leaving their horses in charge of a few men, entered with from six to ten on the trail. The party in pursuit travelled through mud and water, from two to three feet deep, a great portion of the distance, until they had penetrated three or four miles, when suddenly an Indian warrior sprung up within a few paces of the captain and leading men, and levelled his rifle at one of the foremost; happily it missed fire! Not so with the more fortunate volunteer, the crack of whose rifle a moment after told the tale for this Indian. At this juncture, a large muscular savage showed himself in hostile attitude, near at hand, when he and Captain Jernigan levelled their rifles at each other: here again the dexterity of the white man prevailed against the savage. Jernigan fired, and the Indian fell mortally wounded, but still attempting to rise; the Captain mounted him, and with his knife soon ended the struggle. Still a third Indian (believed to be the last of the party) was now seen, fired on, wounded, but effected his escape. The two scalps, with two rifles and pouches, a few dollars in silver (found in one of the pouches), and a handsome bowie knife, were brought in as trophies. They were armed also with bows and arrows, and were well supplied with ammunition. It is here thought that they were spies, sent out to ascertain what openings existed for another Indian adventure. Should the wounded Indian survive to reach his people south, he will no doubt bear upon his own person conclusive evidence of the subject of his mission. The event noticed here is, we know, comparatively of small importance; but when we consider that it is by this and similar lessons that the Indian is taught that he has no resting place, that neither the everglades of the south, nor the dense and extensive morasses of the north, can any longer afford him a secure retreat, we may rationally conclude that the moral effect must be such as will tend to the accomplishment of the object of the war. And here may be perceived the great importance of occupying, at one and the same time, all the principal fastnesses of the Indian. If to effect this, 50,000 men be necessary, so be it. I think that number would be necessary and sufficient; and if the Indians are to be removed *in toto* from Florida, I venture my humble opinion, that both public economy and genuine humanity would sanction a resort to the means above suggested.”

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“The execution of the treaty of Payne’s Landing, signed in 1832, but not ratified until 1834, was postponed, at the solicitation of the Indians, until 1836, when they again renewed their agreement to remove peaceably to their new homes in the west. In the face of this solemn and renewed compact, they broke their faith, and commenced hostilities by the massacre of Major Dade’s command, the murder of their agent, General Thompson, and other acts of cruel treachery. When this alarming and unexpected intelligence reached the seat of government every effort appears to have been made to reinforce General Clinch, who commanded the troops then in Florida. General Eustis was despatched with reinforcements from Charleston; troops were called out from Alabama, Tennessee, and Georgia; and General Scott was sent to take the command, with ample powers and ample means. At the first alarm

General Gaines organized a force at New Orleans, and, without waiting for orders, landed in Florida, when he delivered over the troops he had brought with him to General Scott.

Governor Call was subsequently appointed to conduct a summer campaign, and, at the close of it, was replaced by General Jessup. These events and changes took place under the administration of my predecessor. Notwithstanding the exertions of the experienced officers who had command there for eighteen months, on entering on the administration of the government I found the territory of Florida a prey to Indian atrocities. A strenuous effort was immediately made to bring these hostilities to a close; and the army, under General Jessup, was reinforced until it amounted to ten thousand men, and furnished with abundant supplies of every description. In this campaign a great number of the enemy were captured and destroyed; but the character of the contest only was changed. The Indians, having been defeated in every engagement, dispersed in small bands throughout the country, and became an enterprising, formidable, and ruthless banditti. General Taylor, who succeeded General Jessup, used his best exertions to subdue them, and was seconded in his efforts by the officers under his command; but he, too, failed to protect the territory from their depredations. By an act of signal and cruel treachery they broke the truce made with them by General Macomb, who was sent from Washington for the purpose of carrying into effect the expressed wishes of Congress, and have continued their devastations ever since. General Armistead, who was in Florida when General Taylor left the army, by permission, assumed the command, and after active summer operations, was met by propositions for peace; and, from the fortunate coincidence of the arrival in Florida, at the same period, of a delegation from the Seminoles who are happily settled west of the Mississippi, and are now anxious to persuade their countrymen join them there, hopes were for some time entertained that the Indians might be induced to leave the territory without further difficulty. These hopes have proved fallacious, and hostilities have been renewed throughout the whole of the territory. That this contest has endured so long, is to be attributed to causes beyond the control of the Government. Experienced generals have had the command of the troops; officers and soldiers have alike distinguished themselves for their activity, patience, and enduring courage: the army has been constantly furnished with supplies of every description, and we must look for the causes which have so long procrastinated the issue of the contest in the vast extent of the theatre of hostilities, the almost insurmountable obstacles presented by the nature of the country, the climate, and the wily character of the savages."

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[From the Times, Feb. 22, 1841.]

Extract of a letter, dated, Tallahassee, Florida, Jan. 18.

I transmit to you the *Floridian* newspaper of the 16th instant, promulgating the deliberate message of the governor of the Legislative Council, assembled here a few days after my arrival. Governor Reid, you will observe, finishes his first paragraph with the late exploit of "the gallant Colonel Harvey, as well calculated to *intimidate* the Indians, and incline them to abandon their *barbarous resistance*." Now this "gallant act" was hanging nine of his prisoners in cold blood! The Seminoles are fighting in self defence—in defence of their houses, of their families, and of the graves of their ancestry. They claim hereditary possession of the country, by an uncontradicted descent from the aborigines. They ask the quiet enjoyment of their liberty; they appeal for equality to a republic of democrats, who have boasted their constitution as based on the eternal and divine enunciation that God hath created his creatures free and equal.

*St. Augusta, April 3, 1841.*

Extract of a letter received in this city from an officer of rank, dated Eojotka, 45 miles from Tampa, March 22, 1841.

"I arrived here this day with Wildcat. His people are collecting, and will emigrate in six weeks. A detachment of my regiment is now on the march with Cora Tuslenuggee to Tampa. I doubt whether another shot will be fired."—*From the Boston Daily Advertiser.*

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS.

### *George Catlin's New Work.*

Catlin's gallery of paintings of North American Indians, and his invaluable collection of objects of art of their production, still continue for a while open to the public, and well deserves the attention of those who are interested in the condition of the aborigines, whether on philanthropical or ethnological grounds. Its talented and indefatigable collector is on the point of publishing a work on the North American Indians, which will be copiously illustrated by plates copied from his own drawings.

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### *Medal of Guido Pocrane, the civilized South American Indian.*

A medal, representing on one side the head of this remarkable and interesting person, and on the other that of the youthful Emperor whose patronage he enjoys, has been struck, under the direction of J. D. Sturz, and may be had at the Society's office.

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The Report produced at the Annual Meeting, which was held on the 17th of May, will shortly be published. The large and gratifying attendance at Exeter Hall evinced the increasing interest which is felt in the objects advocated by this Society; but although several liberal subscriptions have been received, the total amount of subscriptions and donations falls short of last year, and is inadequate to defray the very limited expenses which the Society has incurred, many desirable objects having been neglected for want of funds.

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\* \* Subscriptions in aid of the Society may be paid to the Treasurer, Henry Tuckett, at Drewett and Fowler's, 1, Princes' Street, Bank; to the Secretary, 17, Beaufort Buildings, Strand; Overend, Gurney, and Co., Lombard Street; and Smith and Elder, Cornhill.







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Aborigines Protection Society  
Extracts from the papers and proceedings.  
v. 1<sup>2-6</sup>-2<sup>2-4</sup> (1839-41).

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